EMERGENCE OF NATURAL HISTORY 6

THE RHINOCEROS OF SOUTH ASIA

L.C. (Kees) Rookmaaker

With contributions by Joachim K. Bautze and Kelly Enright

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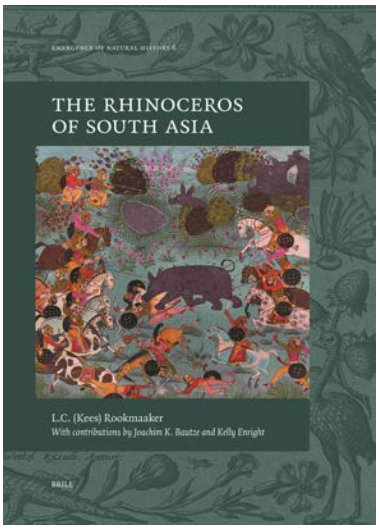

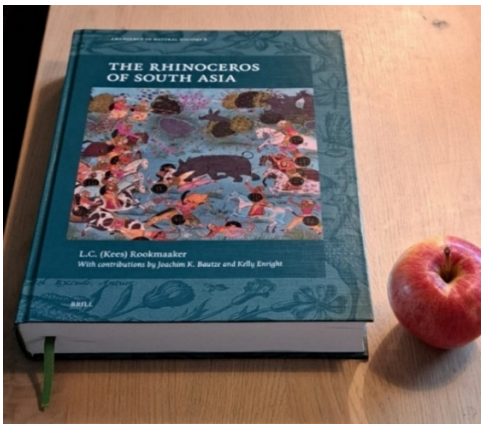

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KEES ROOKMAAKER
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with chapters by JOACHIM K. BAUTZE and KELLY ENRIGHT

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Rookmaaker, Kees. 2024. *The Rhinoceros of South Asia*. Leiden: Brill (Emergence of Natural History, vol. 6), pp. i-liv, 1-835.
With contributions by Joachim K. Bautze and Kelly Enright.
Total 67 chapters, 889 pages, 707 figures (often in colour), 38 maps, 75 tables, 82 datasets, bibliography with 3081 items, index.
ISBN: 978-90-04-69154-4. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004691544

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By

L.C. (Kees) Rookmaaker

With contributions by

Joachim K. Bautze
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The Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data is available online at https://catalog.loc.gov

Typeface for the Latin, Greek, and Cyrillic scripts: "Brill". See and download: brill.com/brill-typeface.

ISSN 2452-3283
ISBN 978-90-04-54488-8 (hardback)
ISBN 978-90-04-69154-4 (e-book)
DOI 10.1163/9789004691544

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Abbreviations

AD	Anno Domini, years after birth of Christ
ad.	adult
ADC	Aide-de-Camp
am	morning before noon
b.	born
BC	Before Christ
BCE	Before Common Era (= BC)
BP	Before Present
c.	circa
cf.	confer, compare
Capt.	Captain
CE	Common Era (= AD)
cent.	century
cm	centimeter
Col.	Colonel
col.	coloured (plate, figure)
d.	died
D.	genus *Dicerorhinus*, in name of rhino
Dept.	Department
Div.	Division
Dt.	District
ed.	edition
fig.	figure
fl.	*floruit*, active period
ft	feet
ibidem	the same
in.	inch(es)
juv.	juvenile
km	kilometer(s), kilometre
Lieut.	Lieutenant
m	meter, metre
mo.	month(s)
MCB	Maharaja of Cooch Behar (Nripendra Narayan)
Mt.	Mount
n.d.	no date(s)
NF	Neue Folge, new series
no.	number
NP	National Park
n.s.	new series
pers.com.	personal communication (usually by email)
pl.	plate
pm	afternoon, evening
R.	genus *Rhinoceros*, in name of rhino
R.	River
r.	reigned (for rulers)
RF	Reserved Forest
RR	Rhino Region (table 1.2)
rhino	rhinoceros, rhinoceroses
rhinos	rhinoceroses
Rs.	Rupee(s), currency
sp.	species uncertain, after a generic name
UK	United Kingdom
UP	Uttar Pradesh
WR	Wildlife Reserve
WS	Wildlife Sanctuary
yr	year(s)

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Acronyms

AMNH	American Museum of Natural History, New York
ANU	Australian National University, Canberra
ASB	Asiatic Society of Bengal, Kolkata
BM	British Museum, London
BMNH	British Museum (Natural History), now NHM
BNHS	Bombay Natural History Society
DNPWC	Department of National Parks and Wildlife Conservation, Nepal
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization
FFPS	Fauna and Flora Preservation Society
FMNH	Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago
ICZN	International Commission for Zoological Nomenclature
IM	Indian Museum, Kolkata
IUCN	International Union for the Conservation of Nature
MDM	Mohenjo Daro Museum, Pakistan
MNHN	Muséum National d'Histoire Naturelle, Paris
MPP	Madan Puraskar Pustakalaya, Library, Kathmandu
NHM	Natural History Museum, London; before 1992 BMNH
NMI	National Museum of India, New Delhi
NMP	National Museum of Pakistan, Karachi
NTNC	National Trust for Nature Conservation, Nepal
RCSE	Royal College of Surgeons of England
RCS	Royal Commonwealth Society
RCT	Royal Collections Trust
SSC	Species Survival Commission
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
V&A	Victoria and Albert Museum, London
VOC	Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie, Dutch East India Company
WWF	World Wildlife Fund, World Wide Fund for Nature
ZSI	Zoological Survey of India, Kolkata
ZSL	Zoological Society of London

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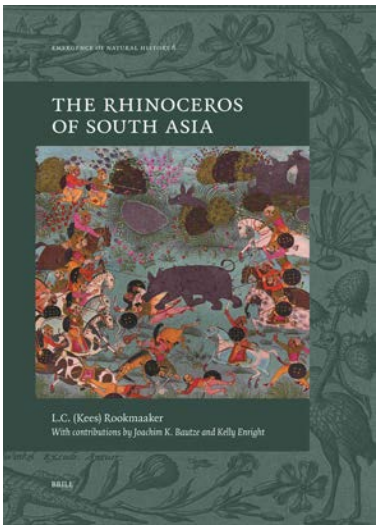

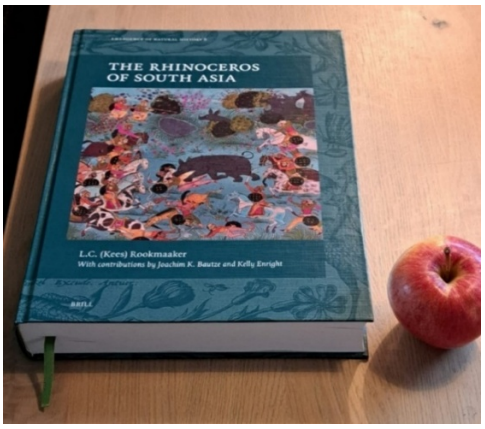

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Rookmaaker, Kees. 2024. *The Rhinoceros of South Asia*. Leiden: Brill (Emergence of Natural History, vol. 6), pp. i-liv, 1-835.
With contributions by Joachim K. Bautze and Kelly Enright.
Total 67 chapters, 889 pages, 707 figures (often in colour), 38 maps, 75 tables, 82 datasets, bibliography with 3081 items, index.
ISBN: 978-90-04-69154-4. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004691544

CHAPTER 5

The Greater One-Horned Rhinoceros (*Rhinoceros unicornis*) in Captivity in South Asia

5.1 Addition of 76 *Rhinoceros unicornis* in Captivity in South Asia

A total of 120 specimens of *R. unicornis* have been recorded in captivity in South Asia before 1950. This is an increase of 76 animals in comparison with my previous comprehensive list of rhinos in captivity (Rookmaaker 1998). Globally, there have been 757 specimens of *R. unicornis* in captivity until 2019.

R. unicornis is the Asian rhinoceros exhibited most widely both in South Asia and elsewhere. This chapter lists all wild-caught and captive-born specimens recorded in South Asia (Bangladesh, India, Nepal, Sri Lanka) from the earliest available records until the end of 1949. This listing therefore excludes (1) all animals arriving in a facility in 1950 or afterwards, and (2) all animals exported from South Asia and exhibited elsewhere in Asia, or in Australia, Africa, Europe and the Americas. There were 17 specimens which were exported after an initial (more or less extended) stay in India, and the local parts of their histories are included below, however they are not included in the total tabulation of South Asian specimens.

Most of the additional rhinos were kept by the local Indian rulers. The available records are generally no more than snapshots even for larger menageries like those in Lucknow (Oudh) or Vadodara (Baroda), and it is often impossible to say if a series of individual notices pertain to one or more animals. If any written registers do exist, they are likely to be in local languages and therefore beyond my capability. Many of the records are quite vague, none discuss which species it might be (therefore assuming *R. unicornis*), and only a few include illustrations. Some zoo-historians may feel that the number is inflated by the inclusion of such general and undefined reports, and while potential errors are unavoidable, it is also true that there is always some kind of evidence which should not be ignored.

5.2 Methods of Rhino Capture

Most rhinos were captured while they were still young, because adults were too large to be transported safely. It is likely that most were caught by men protected by the bulk of the elephants used to separate them from the mothers. Only a few actual stories of some wild-west like encounters have made it into print.

In March 1864, the adventurous and daring Major Charles Richard Cock (1838–1879) killed a mother rhino in the Garo Hills (Meghalaya), and then cursorily ordered his subordinates to catch the calf by hand:

> With B. shot a female rhino, which had a young one, which we determined to capture. As I had brought a strong cotton rope, we made the fellows get off the elephants and catch him. My mahout caught him by the ears first, and was immediately knocked over. We then all laid hold of him, and tied the cotton rope round his neck and middle, then fastened him up to the carcass of his mother, there being no tree available, and sending a pad elephant into Trickri killa, we summoned the whole population to drag him to the stockade. This was a work of great difficulty, as they had a mile to drag him through Assam grass, about 14 feet high, but at length they got him in all safe, and he soon took his milk kindly, drinking four quarts daily. (Cock 1865)

A similar scene was depicted by the Hungarian Count Andrássy de Mano Csikszentkiraly (1821–1891) in the 1859 edition of his book of his travels (fig. 48.1).

The hunters employed by Fitzwilliam Pollok in Assam (39.3) suggested catching a baby rhino using nets, just as they were used to catch a buffalo. Set in June 1867, he tells how the animal was subdued and soon got used to his human adversaries:

> Seetaram, an old hunter, and his nephew Sookur, a young phansic or nooser, volunteered, they went 3 pm, back midnight: In front were some six torch-bearers, and immediately behind them some twenty men, all but naked, staggered under some weight, which was attached to long poles and which was violently struggling and squealing most pitiously, enveloped in a net and tied with numerous ropes. This proved to be a young rhino. A shallow trench just long enough for the young beast to stand in was dug, and the animal itself, after having ropes

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(38)
A HUNTING STORY,
(NOT TO SAY, FIB)
Being the Adventures of Cornelius Cracker, Esq.
Cracker, while out shooting in Central Africa, tumbles into a native pitfall.
Another visitor drops in unexpectedly,
To Cracker's intense dissatisfaction, who makes a point of getting out of the way.
Another arrival. Cracker thinks it would be well to put up a notice—"Pit full."
A HUNTING STORY. 39
An alliance offensive and defensive is entered into. The rhinoceros assists Cracker out of the difficulty,
And gives the lioness a lift.
The grateful Cracker procures a spade, and fills in the pit, in order to release the rhinoceros.
"Oh, does not a parting like this make amends?

FIGURE 5.1 Comic sequence by Ernest Henri Griset (1844–1907) illustrating the release of a rhinoceros from a pitfall by the adventurous Cornelius Cracker, Esq. The story is in the captions. Cracker falls in the pit, followed by a lion and then a large rhinoceros. With the pit now full, the rhino first helps the dangerous lion to escape, followed by a lift upwards to Cracker. Finally Cracker digs the rhino to freedom: "Oh, does not a parting like this make amends?" Griset in Tom Hood (1835–1874), *The 5 Alls*, 1868, pp. 38–39
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attached to its hind and front legs, round its body and neck, was relieved of its wraps, and, although it fought like a demon, deposited in its bed and secured to long pegs driven into the ground. I never saw a more savage monster, it went open mouthed at everybody, and had it got loose I have no doubt it would have floored many of us before it could have been recaptured. It was dawn before our captive was safe, and we retired to snatch another hour's rest. My work detained me about ten days in Burpettah, during which I had ample leisure to watch my new acquisition. It was no use attempting to go near it for the first 36 hours, our approach only irritated it and made it struggle, but on the second day the poor brute was much exhausted from want of sleep, food, and water, and also from the exertions it had made to escape. Sookur now with a jug of water approached it, and poured some over its head; at first it threw its head about, but, a little water getting into its mouth, it became quieter, more water being poured over it, it opened its mouth and allowed the liquid to trickle down it. It was then fed with buffalo's milk, and then left undisturbed for another day. It had then mashed plaintains and milk given it, in three days it was untethered and allowed to roam about in a little stockade which had been erected round it, in a week it would follow its keeper about everywhere (Pollok 1871c: 469)

Although the stories give a completely wild impression, in reality the object was to keep the young animal alive and unscathed, otherwise it would have little value to an animal dealer. Due to difficulties in transporting such large animals by mechanical means, apparently it was common

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practice to make them walk long distances, of course accompanied by their long-suffering human keepers.

When rhinos were captured for zoological gardens in the the 20th century, invariably pit-traps proved to be the best and least offensive method. The conservationist E.P. Gee in Assam was definitely much in favour. The official pits used there were about 10 feet (3 m) wide and 6 deep (1.8 m) deep and would be dug in the middle of a rhino path, then camouflaged with sticks and grass. Once the rhino had fallen in, one of the sides would be dug out to form a gradient allowing the transfer of the animal to a cage, which could then be dragged to a stockade by an elephant (Gee 1964a: 159). Alternatively a rhino can be shot with a tranquillizer, a method possibly preferable in some conditions as the actual individual can be chosen in advance. The English illustrator Ernest Henri Griset responsible for numerous humorous phantasies has pictured the adventures of a rhino, in this case African, removed from an illegal pitfall by the elderly Cornelius Cracker, Esq. as part of a hunting story "not to say, fib" (fig. 5.1).

5.3 Total Number of Captive *R. unicornis* in South Asia to 1949

In the wild *R. unicornis* occurred and occurs only in the countries of South Asia. As this chapter provides details of the wild-caught animals kept in South Asia itself until 1949, additional data about the animals exported from the region, born in captivity, or shown in South Asia after 1950 are presented in summary. The extensive list for rhinos kept in any captive facility until 1994 by Rookmaaker (1998) gives details about 397 specimens of *R. unicornis*, of which 260 were wild-caught and 137 were born in captivity. The changes to the captive inventory after this date are included in the studbooks. The Indian studbook was initiated by the Kanpur Zoo (1994) and edited by Koliyal (2003). The latest (third) edition by the Central Zoo Authority (2016) recorded data of 152 rhinos, of which 81 were wild-caught and 65 captive-born (and 6 unknown origin). At the end of 2016 there were 30 animals alive in 10 Indian zoos, 5 wild-caught and 25 captive-born. As these data are repeated in the international studbooks, the animal totals in this chapter are based on the latter.

The international studbook of *R. unicornis* was initiated by the director of the Basel Zoo Ernst Michael Lang (1913–2014), and is an example of careful and useful record keeping and publication (Lang 1994). Lang was an eminent zookeeper and was responsible for the major breeding program of the species (Lang 1956, 1961, 1967, 1968). The studbook editions carefully edited by the team at Basel Zoo for 2017 and 2019 provide information on 554 individuals, which include all animals in zoo facilities around the world from 1950 as well as some earlier specimens (Basel Zoo 2017, 2019). The latest update of data on 2021-12-31 gives a current captive population of 230 *R. unicornis* (117 males, 113 females) in 83 locations worldwide (Basel Zoo 2021).

In total, combining all sources, there have been 757 specimens of *R. unicornis* in captivity until the end of 2019 (table 5.7). Of these, 357 were captured in Nepal or India, and 400 were born in captivity. Besides the rhino born in Nepal in 1824 and two still-births, the first rhino birth occurred in Basel Zoo on 14 September 1956, starting a remarkable success story (table 5.8). In the 21st century (to 2020) only 12 rhinos were taken from the wild to bring new genetic material into the captive population.

The locality of capture is rarely known for any of the specimens taken into captivity before 1950. However, records much improved in the 20th century showing that 67 animals were obtained in Nepal and 115 in India (tables 5.9, 5.10, 5.11). In India, most animals were caught in Assam (mainly in Kaziranga NP), and only a relatively small number of these were exported. By contrast, most rhinos caught in Nepal (mainly in Chitwan NP) were exported (tables 5.9, 5.10).

•••

Dataset 5.1: History of the Specimens of *R. unicornis* in Captivity

List of specimens of *R. unicornis* in captivity in South Asia up to 1949, in chronological order for each country. Each entry shows the first year in which the presence was recorded followed by an indication of the locality. The locality is followed by a year of death or transfer when available. Further information is found in the alphabetical listing below. This shows a total of 120 animals (118 wild-caught, 2 captive-born) in South Asia.

The list includes the 44 specimens previously presented in Rookmaaker (1998) identified by an asterix (*). There were 17 specimens which were exported after a short stay in the region, which are listed but not included in the South Asian totals.

Abbreviations: * Also recorded in Rookmaaker (1998)
< means: previous to the year stated
(nd) means: no date known.

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Bangladesh

*1780 Dhaka: Matthew Day (nd)
1861 Dinajpur fair (nd)

Nepal

1797 Kathmandu 1834
*1823 Kathmandu (nd)
*1823 Kathmandu (nd)
*1824 Kathmandu *birth* 1834 To Kolkata: unknown (nd)
1845 Kathmandu (nd)
1845 Kathmandu (nd)
1851 Kathmandu (nd)
*1907 Kathmandu (nd)
*1907 Kathmandu (nd)
*1907 Kathmandu (nd)
1932 Kathmandu 1939

Sri Lanka

1643 King of Bengale 1643 To Kandy (nd)

India

*1399 Delhi: Timur Bec (nd)
1600 Ajmer: Jahangir (nd)
*1615 Ajmer: Jahangir (nd)
*1615 Ajmer: Jahangir (nd)
1632 Etawah: Shah Jahan (nd)
1632 Etawah: Shah Jahan (nd)
*1659 Delhi: Aurangzeb (nd)
*1659 Delhi : Aurangzeb (nd)
1665 Agra: Aurangzeb (nd)
*1665 Kora Jahanabad (Tavernier) (nd)
*1671 Kassimbazar (nd)
1698 Udaipur: Palace (nd)
1698 Udaipur: Palace (nd)
1706 Kolkata Chandernagor 1716 Murshidabad: Nawab (nd)
1720 Manipur (nd)
1721 Bijolia: Maharana (nd)
1734 Udaipur : Palace (nd)
*1750 Patna: Young (nd)
1757 Murshidabad: Nawab (nd)
1760–1765 Lucknow: Nawab (nd)
1763 Patna: Vansittart 1763 Kolkata (transit) 1763
1765 Kolkata: Governor of Bengal (nd)
1769 Lucknow: Nawab (nd)
1775 Bundi: Umaid Singhji (nd)
*1780 Bhagalpur: Cleveland (nd)
1789 Lucknow: Nawab 1802
*1790 Gwalior 1790 Pune: Peshwa 1792
1790 Udaipur: Palace (nd)
1791 Kathmandu 1791 Kolkata: Governor of Bengal (nd)
1793 Gwalior 1793 Kolkata: Governor of Bengal (nd)
1808 Kolkata: Barrackpore (nd)
1810 Vadodara: Guikwar 1822
*1814 Lucknow: Nawab < 1856
*1814 Lucknow: Nawab < 1856
*1814 Lucknow: Nawab < 1856
*1819 Lucknow: Nawab < 1856
1819 Lucknow: Nawab < 1856
1819 Lucknow: Nawab < 1856
1819 Lucknow: Nawab < 1856
*1823 Vadodara: Guikwar 1848–1856
*1827 Kolkata: Barrackpore 1857
1830s Barpali: Raja of Bamra (nd)
1835 Fatigarh: Baiza Bai 1836 Allahabad: Baiza Bai (nd)
1835 Fatigarh: Baiza Bai 1836 Allahabad: Baiza Bai (nd)
1837 Kolkata: Barrackpore 1857
1837 Kolkata: Buddynath Roy (nd)
1838 Kolkata: Barrackpore (nd)
1840 Una: Baba Bikram 1857 59th Regiment (nd)
1841 Lucknow: Nawab < 1856
1841 Lucknow: Nawab < 1856
1841 Lucknow: Nawab < 1856
1841 Lucknow: Nawab < 1856
1841 Lucknow: Nawab < 1856
*1841 Lucknow: Nawab 1856 Kolkata: Barrackpore (Blyth) 1862
*1841 Lucknow: Nawab 1856 Kolkata: Barrackpore (Blyth) 1860
1845 Jaipur: Maharaja 1861
1848 Bettiah: Raja (nd)
*1848–1856 Vadodara: Guikwar < 1885
1850 Arki: Palace (nd)
1851 Mathura: Seth Chand (nd)
*1852 Allahabad: Rundheer Singh 1852 Lucknow: Nawab 1858
1855 Guwahati: Schlagintweit (nd)
*1856–1866 Vadodara: Guikwar < 1885
1858 Kolkata: Alipore Rajah (nd)
1858 Kolkata: Seven Tanks – 1870s
*1859 Kolkata: Maharaja of Burdwan 1861
*1859 Kolkata: Maharaja of Burdwan (nd)
1861 Udaipur: Maharaja (nd)
1862 Balrampur 1885
1864 Meghalaya: Cock (nd)
1865–1866 Vadodara: Guikwar (nd)
1866 Dibrugarh: Millett (nd)
*1867 Kolkata: Raja Mullick 1867
*1868 Bangalore: Lal Bagh 1870 Chennai (nd)
1868 Bangalore: Lal Bagh 1893
1869 Assam, Manas: Pollok (nd)
1870 Jeypore: Raja (nd)
1870 Cachar: Synteng (nd)
*1871 Kolkata: Raja Mullick 1871
1874 Alwar: Maharao (nd)
1875 Kolkata: Rutledge (nd)
1876 Junagadh: Nawab 1889
*1876 Gwalior: Maharaja 1903
*1877 Dumraon 1877 Kolkata Zoo 1880
*1878 Trivandrum Zoo 1900
1880–1885 Darbhanga: Maharaja (nd)
1885 Dungarpur: Maharawal (nd)
1886 Jaipur: Ram Newas (nd)
1886 Jaipur: Ram Newas (nd)
*1887 Kolkata: Wajid Ali Shah 1887 Kolkata Zoo (nd)
1888 Darbhanga: Maharaja (nd)
1888 Darbhanga: Maharaja (nd)
*1905 Kolkata Zoo 1932
*1909 Kolkata Zoo 1930
1909 Kolkata Zoo (nd)
1919 Dungarpur: Maharawal (nd)
1920s Assam: Wood's friend (nd)
*1925 Kolkata Zoo *birth* 1925
1925 Mayong, Assam (nd)
*1932 Kolkata Zoo 1970
*1932 Kolkata Zoo 1965

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1936 Jaldapara: Forest Department 1936
1939 Dungarpur: Maharawal (nd)
*1941 Udaipur Zoo 1946 Jaipur: Ram Newas 1964
1941 Udaipur Zoo (nd)
*1944 Lucknow Zoo 1973

India – Exported outside Region after Longer Stay in India

*1514 Ahmedabad 1514 Surat 1514 Goa 1515 To Lisbon 1517 To Rome 1517
*1577 Goa 1577 To Lisbon and Madrid 1591
1620 Ajmer: Jahangir 1620 To Iran, then Turkey
*1683 Kolkata: Capt. Udall 1684 To London 1686
*1738 Patna: English Factory 1738 Kolkata (transit) 1739 London 1742/1744
*1738 Kolkata: VOC at Hooghly 1740 To Holland [Clara] 1758
*1769 Kolkata: Chandernagor 1769 To Versailles 1793
*1790 Lucknow: Nawab 1790 London (Clark's Rhino at The Lyceum) 1793
*1829 Kolkata: Buddynath Roy 1830 USA: Flatfoots 1835
*1831 Lucknow: Nawab 1835 London, died in transit 1835
*1833 Kolkata: Barrackpore 1834 Liverpool: Atkins 1841
1838 Kolkata: Barrackpore (nd) To Jakarta (nd)
*1864 Kolkata: Barrackpore 1864 London Zoo 1865 Paris 1874
1868 Mumbai: Aga Khan 1868 To King of Persia 1868
*1912 Kolkata Zoo 1912 London Zoo 1921
*1922 Mumbai Victoria Gardens 1922 London Zoo 1926
*1938 Kolkata Zoo 1939 Washington DC 1959

TABLE 5.7 Total numbers of *R. unicornis* in captivity through the past centuries

	1300–1799	1800–1849	1850–1899	1900–1949	1950–1999	2000–2019	Total
Wild-caught specimens of R. unicornis							
South Asia only	33	32	36	17	76	8	202
Export	9	17	48	26	51	4	155
Total	42	49	84	43	127	12	357
Captive-born specimens of R. unicornis							
South Asia only		1		1	42	33	77
Outside S. Asia				1	136	186	323
Total		1		2	178	219	400
Totals of wild-caught and captive-born specimens of R. unicornis							
TOTAL	42	50	84	45	305	231	757

This combines figures found in Rookmaaker (1998), new data in this chapter, and the records of the studbook (for data after 1950) kept by Basel Zoo (2017, 2019). South Asia only includes data for facilities in India, Nepal and Bangladesh (no rhinos recorded in Pakistan, Bhutan, Sri Lanka). Export figures of wild-caught animals and births outside South Asia include all specimens which left South Asia or were born outside the region.

TABLE 5.8 Numbers of births of *R. unicornis* according to continent

Births	1950s	1960s	1970s	1980s	1990s	2000s	2010s	Total
South Asia		4	10	16	12	16	17	75
Asia Rest		1	1		1	3	3	9
Africa								0
Australia							1	1
S. America					2			2
N. America		1	4	20	35	48	57	165
Europe	3	11	14	21	22	30	44	145
TOTAL	3	17	29	57	72	97	122	397

Three births recorded before 1950s are excluded. Data exported from the studbook of Basel Zoo (2017, 2019).

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TABLE 5.9 Origin of wild-caught *R. unicornis* afterwards exhibited in South Asia from 1900 to 2019

Wild	1900	1910	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000	2010	Total
Nepal	6			3	3		2		3	1		2	20
Assam			2			6	12	19	22	8		3	72
Bengal				1								2	3
Bihar									1				1
UP											1		1
Unknown		1		1		2							4
Total	6	1	2	5	3	8	14	19	26	9	1	7	101

TABLE 5.10 Origin of wild-caught *R. unicornis* exported to countries outside South Asia from 1900 to 2019

Wild	1900	1910	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000	2010	Total
Nepal	5	2	6	4		1	4	2	11	8	4		47
Assam				3	5	9	9	6					32
Bengal													0
Bihar													0
UP													0
Unknown		1					1						2
Total	5	3	6	7	5	10	14	8	11	8	4	0	81

TABLE 5.11 Origin of all wild-caught *R. unicornis* from 1900 to 2019, combining data of tables 5.9 and 5.10

Wild	1900	1910	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000	2010	Total
Nepal	11	2	6	7	3	1	6	2	14	9	4	2	67
Assam			2	3	5	15	21	25	22	8		3	104
Bengal				1								2	3
Bihar									1				1
UP											1		1
Unknown		2		1		2	1						6
Total	11	4	8	12	8	18	28	27	37	17	5	7	182

5.4 List of Specimens of *R. unicornis* in South Asia up to 1949

Listed alphabetically according to locality of the collection, there are details of 120 specimens of *R. unicornis* in captivity in India, Bangladesh and Nepal. Localities are listed following current names of towns, states and countries. The list also includes 17 important specimens exported after a longer stay in India. Two rhinos were born in captivity in this set: Kathmandu in 1824 and Kolkata Alipore in 1925. All other specimens were presumably wild-caught.

Localities discussed here arranged by country or Indian states.

Bangladesh: Dhaka, Dinajpur.

Nepal: Kathmandu.

Sri Lanka: Kandy.

India:

Assam: Assam, Cachar, Dibrugarh, Guwahati.

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Bihar: Bettiah, Bhagalpur, Darbhanga, Dumraon, Kassimbazar, Patna, Varanasi.
Delhi.
Gujarat: Ahmedabad, Junagadh, Vadodara.
Himachal Pradesh: Arki, Una.
India: Locality unknown.
Karnataka: Bangalore.
Kerala: Trivandrum.
Odisha: Barpali, Jeypore.
Madhya Pradesh: Gwalior.
Maharashtra: Mumbai, Pune.
Manipur: Manipur.
Rajasthan: Ajmer, Alwar, Bijolia, Bundi, Dungarpur, Jaipur, Udaipur.
Tamil Nadu: Chennai.
Uttar Pradesh: Agra, Allahabad, Balrampur, Etawah, Farrukhabad, Kora Jahanabad, Lucknow, Mathura.
West Bengal: Kolkata (14 facilities), Murshidabad.

Agra, Uttar Pradesh – Court of Aurangzeb

1. Period 1665–1682

In an album of animal drawings dated between 1665–1682, from the time of the Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb (1618–1707), there is a sketch of a rhino captured in the District of Patna (11.15, fig. 11.21).

Ahmedabad, Gujarat – Court of Muzaffar II

*1. 1514–1515 (to Goa, then exported to Lisbon, Portugal)

The first Lisbon Rhinoceros was made famous through the woodcut of Albrecht Dürer (4.6). It had been kept for an unknown period by Sultan Muzafar II (1484–1526) in Champanel (near Ahmedabad) before he presented it to the Portuguese Governor, Afonso de Albuquerque (1453–1515). The Portuguese ambassadors started from Champanel on 26 April 1514 and arrived in Surat on 16 May 1514. The animal was transported to Goa, where it stayed from 15 September 1514 to early January 1515 when it was taken on board to Lisbon, Portugal.

Ajmer, Rajasthan – Court of Jahangir

1. Period 1600–1604

Prince Salim is depicted in a miniature dated around 1600–1604 in a hunting scene, where five men are showing him a young rhino that has been captured (fig. 11.11). Prince Salim was the name of the Mughal Emperor Jahangir (1569–1627) before he accessioned the throne in 1605.

*2–3. Period 1615–1616

Two rhinos were in captivity in Ajmer when the English trader Thomas Coryat (1577–1617) visited between July 1615 and September 1616 (11.12).

4. Period 1620–1622 (Exported to Istanbul, Turkey)

Possibly obtained from the Mughal court during the time of Jahangir, the Shah of Iran presented a living rhino to Sultan Osman II (1603–1622) in Istanbul, Turkey about 1620–1622 (11.12).

Allahabad, Uttar Pradesh – Rundheer Singh

*1. 1852-02-12 (to Lucknow: Nawab)

Found in the camp of Rundheer (Randhir) Singh of Patti Saifabad, Uttar Pradesh. It was confiscated by Robert Henry Wallace Dunlop (1823–1887) and handed over to authorities in Lucknow (Anon. 1852a), where it was added to collection of the Nawab (6.10, fig. 6.14).

Allahabad, Uttar Pradesh – Camp of Baiza Bai

1–2. 1836 (from Farrukhabad)

1836-02-09. The Welsh traveler Fanny Parks (1794–1875) visited the camp of Baiza Bai (1784–1863), the exiled regent of Gwalior, who had two rhinos when she was in Farrukhabad in 1835. Parks again saw the two rhinos in Allahabad on 9 February 1836: "they fought one another rather fiercely; it was an amusement for the party" (Parks 1850, vol. 2: 44).

1836-10-21. Henry Edward Fane (1817–1868) witnessed a fight of 2 rhinos (Fane 1842, vol. 1: 50). Fane was Aide-de-Camp to Commander-in-Chief General Henry Fane (1778–1840), who during this short visit in Allahabad stayed with his brother William Fane (1789–1839). The animals belonged to an unnamed "Mahratta princess", undoubtedly Baiza Bai as stated by Fanny Parks earlier in the year.

Alwar, Rajasthan – Maharao Singh

1. 1874-09

When the railway between Delhi and Alwar (or Ulwur, 160 km south of Delhi) was first opened in 1874, some journalists visited the town. The ruler Maharao Sheodan Singh (1845–1875) showed them "a dwarf cow, a rhinoceros, and a white cow that filled me with a sense of admiration which years cannot obliterate" (TMWTEG 1874). The contemporary gazetteer of Alwar mentions a menagerie with "a good many birds, foreign and others, and a few wild beasts" without reference to a rhino (Powlett 1878: 118).

Arki, Himachal Pradesh – Raja Kishan Singh

1. Period 1840–1850

Raja Kishan Singh (1817–1877) of the Baghal Princely State made several improvements to the town of Arki, now in Himachal Pradesh. During the 1840s and 1850s he commissioned many paintings on the walls of the palace. There is a fresco of a captive one-horned rhino with two attendants

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FIGURE 5.2 Rhinoceros with two attendants depicted on a fresco in the Palace of Arki, Himachal Pradesh. This photo taken in 1998 is unique and the mural probably no longer exists
PHOTO © JOACHIM K. BAUTZE, 1998

(fig. 5.2). Not dated or signed, it is tentatively taken to represent a scene in the middle of the 19th century.

Assam, Manas area – F.T. Pollok

1. 1869-05-11

Fitzwilliam Thomas Pollok (1832–1909) captured a young rhino with a net at Busbaree (Manas area, Assam) after killing the mother (5.2). The animal was savage at first, but started to feed out of the keeper's hand in two days and follow him around after a week (Pollok 1871c: 469, 1898a: 175).

Pollok possibly captured other young rhinos of which no details are known (39.4). Captive rhinos could be sold for about Rs 600 or £60 (Pollok 1882a) and added to the budget for his excursions. Pollok also recorded three unsuccessful capture attempts, in January 1868 (trip 5), April 1870 (trip 16) and April 1872 (trip 26).

Assam – Locality Unknown

1. 1920s

A friend of the army officer Henry Stotesbury Wood (1865–1956) kept a rhino in an unknown locality, which used to go out every day with its keeper to fetch its fodder (Wood 1930: 63).

Balrampur, Uttar Pradesh – Maharaja of Balrampur

1. M 1862, 1885

A male rhino was present during a visit in 1885 of the Methodist missionary Samuel Knowles to Balrampur. He had also seen the same animal 23 years earlier, in 1862 (Knowles 1889: 49, 176). According to Hewett (1938: 48) it was donated together with two elephants by Swami Harihar Anand in the time of Digbijai Singh, Maharaja of Balrampur (1818–1882).

Bangalore, Karnataka – Lal Bagh Park

Lal Bagh was a botanic garden and leisure park since the first half of the 19th century. In the 1860s the Superintendent was William New (d. 1873), followed by John Cameron until 1903 (Bowe 2012).

*1. F 1868 to 1893-03-08 †

The death of the female rhino was reported in the *Englishman's Overland Mail* (1893-03-08), stating that she arrived in 1868 together with a male. When Stanley Smyth Flower (1871–1946) visited Lal Bagh Park in April 1913, he found a curious empty cage formerly inhabited by a rhino (Flower 1914: 40).

2. M 1868 to 1870 (to Chennai)

The male which had arrived together with the female was incompatible, and "had to be deported to another State." It may have been the animal reported from 1870 in the Government Gardens of Madras (see Chennai).

Barpali, Odisha – Raja of Bamra

1. Early-19th century (1830s?)

When the Raja of Bamra married a daughter of one of the Rajas of Sambalpur, the dowry included a rhino which had been kept in Barpali (Ball 1877).

Bettiah, Bihar – Raja Kishore

1. 1848-01

The pseudonymous hunter Rohilla (1848) was invited to the palace of Kishore Singh Bahadur, 8th Raja of Bettiah (d. 1855). Their audience was interrupted by a "very tame and very stupid Rhinoceros."

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Bhagalpur, Bihar – Augustus Cleveland

*1. No date (1780s?)

Augustus Cleveland (1754–1784), District Officer of Bhaugulpore (Bhagalpur) kept a rhino near his home "which I believe did not live very long" (Williamson 1807a: 45; 1807b, vol. 1: 168).

Bijolia, Rajasthan – Maharana Sangram Singh II

1. M Period 1721–1734

A male rhino is depicted in a mural associated with a ceremony which took place at the court in Bijolia during the reign (1710–1734) of Maharana Sangram Singh II (1690–1734) in Mewar (Udaipur) (fig. 15.46).

Bundi, Rajasthan – Rao Raja Umaid Singhji

1. Period 1775–1800

In a wall-painting dated to the last quarter of the 18th century, a rhino is shown engaged in a fight with an elephant (fig. 15.42). Both animals are mounted by riders. The rhino has no chains around feet or neck.

Cachar, South Assam – Synteng

1. M Period 1870s–1880s

The hunter-sportsman Synteng (1885), who remains pseudonymous (60.3), reported that rhinos were occasionally captured in Cachar, and he may have kept one for a short time: "the only youngster I ever secured I was fain to let loose again, as he steadily refused all food."

Chennai (Madras), Tamil Nadu – Government Gardens

The Government Gardens were located in Egmore on Anna Salai.

1. 1870-11 (from Bangalore) – alive in 1875

An anonymous correspondent saw a large rhino in the Government Gardens (*Preston Chronicle* 1871-03-18). This is likely to have been the male rhino which had proved incompatible with a female in Bangalore in 1868. The *Times of India* (1871-12-12) reported the temporary escape of the rhino. On a short visit to the People's Park, Benjamin Robbins Curtis (1855–1891) noted the rhino on 13 December 1875 (Curtis 1876: 225).

Darbhanga, Bihar – Maharaja of Darbhanga

The new palace of the Maharaja of Darbhanga was completed in 1883 designed by British architect Major Charles Outram Mant (1840–1881) with gardens laid out by the botanist Charles Maries (1851–1902). A photograph of 1888 shows "The Rhinoceros Park." Ehlers (1894, vol. 1: 357) comments on Darbhanga's zoological garden, without listing a rhino.

It is possible that the capture of one of these zoo animals was described in a report by Money (1893: 618), unfortunately undated (no. 1). The baby rhino, 3 feet (92 cm) high, was isolated in a patch of tree and grass jungle near the Nepal border. After several attempts, a noose was secured around his neck, but 20 men could not hold him. He was captured nevertheless, then brought to a stockade constructed in the hunting camp, where "after being in it some 12 hours, it became very quiet, and allowed milk to be poured down its throat. This was done constantly, and in little more than a day and a half it came out of its stockade for all intents and purposes a tame animal." After few weeks, the rhino reached Darbhanga where it was treated like a pet by the Maharaja. Money believed that this animal died after a few months because it was fed the wrong type of food.

1. Period 1880–1885

In the time of Maharaja Lakshmeshwar Singh Bahadur (1858–1898), the estate manager Major General Robert Cotton Money (1835–1903) mentioned that 1 baby rhino was caught in the Bhutan Duars during a hunting trip (Money 1893: 618). The report might date from the late 1870s or early 1880s (28.25).

2–3. 1888

There were 2 young rhinos in a "Rhinoceros Park" within the grounds of the Anand Bagh Palace or Lakshmeshwar Vilas Palace. In 1888 the palace was visited by photographers of the firm Messrs. Bourne and Shepherd of Calcutta, and several pictures were printed in *The Graphic* (Anon. 1888). One of the photographs shows two young-looking *R. unicornis* in an extensive enclosure (fig. 5.3).

Delhi – Timur Bec

*1. 1399-01

After Timur Bec or Timurlane (1336–1405) conquered Delhi, he organized a parade including elephants and rhinoceros (number unknown) as recorded in his reminiscences (13.7).

Delhi – Court of Aurangzeb

*1–2. 1659

François Bernier (1620–1688), who worked as a physician at Aurangzeb's court from 1658–1667, saw "rhinos" when he visited Delhi in 1659 (11.15). The number of animals is unclear, hence an estimate of possibly two.

Dhaka, Bangladesh – Matthew Day

*1. 1780s

Matthew Day (unidentified) had a rhino "kept in a park into which it was not very safe to venture" (Williamson 1807a: 45; 1807b, vol. 1: 168).

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Dibrugarh, Assam – W. Millett

1. 1866-04-25

W. Millett of Tetellee Gooree (Teteliguri) had a young rhino for sale at Rs 350 (F. Buckland 1868: 217).

Dinajpur, NW Bangladesh – Annual Fair

1. 1861

The annual fair held in April at Nekh Murd, 50 km NW of Dinajpur (Dinagepore), usually sold cattle and other livestock. In 1861 also one rhino was offered, or maybe exhibited (Sherwill 1865: 28).

Dumraon, Bihar – Maharaja of Dumraon

*1. F 1877-02 (to Kolkata: Alipore Zoo)

A female rhino was donated to the Calcutta Zoo by Maharaja Maheshwar Bakhsh Singh (1803–1881), 9th Maharaja of Dumraon. The vexing question "now stirring the Calcutta intellect to its depth is, whether to train or to march the rhinoceros?" was decided in favour of a two-months overland journey (*Times of India* 1877-02-09 and 1877-04-12). It is possible that the animal had been kept by the Maharaja previous to his gift.

Dungarpur, Rajasthan – Court of Maharawal

There are three murals in the Juna Mahal in Dungarpur dating from different periods. The potential dates seem too far apart to refer twice to the same specimen. In all three cases, the rhino has a blanket over the back indicating life in captivity.

1. 1885-03

A rhino called 'Mohan Lal' was acquired by Maharawal Udai Singh II, depicted in a scene of a procession taking place in 1886 (fig. 15.51).

2. 1919

Adorned with ropes and chains, a rhino with a rider is shown in a mural dated 1919 (fig. 15.53).

3. 1939

A rhino mounted by a bearded man is depicted in a mural dating around 1939–1940 (fig. 15.52).

Etawah, Uttar Pradesh – Court of Shah Jahan

*1–2. 1632

1632-12-20. The English merchant Peter Mundy (1596–1667) stayed in the Agra and Surat areas from 1628–1634 (11.13). On one of his excursions on 20 December 1632, he had just passed Etaya (Etawah), when he heard that two rhinos had been sent to the town "to bee kept and fedd", and therefore obviously still alive (Mundy 1914, vol. 2: 171). Mundy had no time to turn back to get his first glimpse of a rhino. They were a gift of Saif Khan (d. 1640), Governor of Bihar 1628–1632 to the Mughal Emperor Shah Jahan.

Fatigarh (Farrukhabad), Uttar Pradesh – Baiza Bai

Baiza Bai (1784–1863) was the third wife of Shrimant Daulat Rao Sindhia (1779–1827), the ruler of Gwalior state, and after his death she acted as the Regent of the territory 1827–1833. After this she lived in exile until 1856 in various places.

1–2. 1835-04-15 (to Allahabad)

1835-04-15. While in Fatigarh, Baiza Bai was visited by the Welsh traveler Fanny Parks (1794–1875), who then saw "two fine rhinoceroses, which galloped about the grounds in their heavy style, and fought one another; the Ba'i gave five thousand rupees (£500) for the pair" (Parks 1850, vol. 2: 7). The two rhinos were still in the camp of Baiza Bai in Allahabad in February 1836.

Goa – Portuguese Embassy

*1. 1514-09-15 (from Ahmedabad via Surat) to 1515-01 (to Lisbon, Portugal)

The rhino donated by Muzafar II to the Portuguese King stayed in Goa from 15 September 1514 to early January 1515 before shipment to Portugal (see entry under Ahmedabad above and 4.6).

*2. F 1577 (to Lisbon, Portugal)

The Abada or Madrid Rhinoceros was shipped from Goa by the Portuguese Mission to Lisbon in 1577 (11.9).

Guwahati (Gauhati), Assam – Unknown Owner

1. 1855-12

Hermann Schlagintweit (1826–1882) traveled to India in 1854–1857 to make scientific investigations. He spent some months in Assam, visiting Guwahati and traveling up to Dibrugarh by steamer (38.17). He saw a single tame rhino in Gowahatti (Gauhati, Guwahati), where he stayed from 16 November to 21 December 1855 (Schlagintweit 1869, vol. 1: 433).

Gwalior, Madhya Pradesh – Maharaja of Gwalior

Baiza Bai, the exiled former Regent of Gwalior, is stated to have exhibited two rhinos while she was living in Fatigarh (Farrukhabad) in April 1835 and in Allahabad in 1836. There is no report of these animals in Gwalior.

1. 1790 (to Pune)

Mahadaji Scindia (1730–1794), the ruler of Gwalior 1768–1794, donated a rhino in 1790 to Peshwa Madhav Rao II (1774–1795) of Poona (Pune), Maharashtra.

2. 1793 (to Kolkata: Governor of Bengal)

Mahadaji Scindia sent a letter to Governor John Shore (1751–1834) in Kolkata informing that he had sent him a rhino (National Archives of India 1949, vol. 10: 247).

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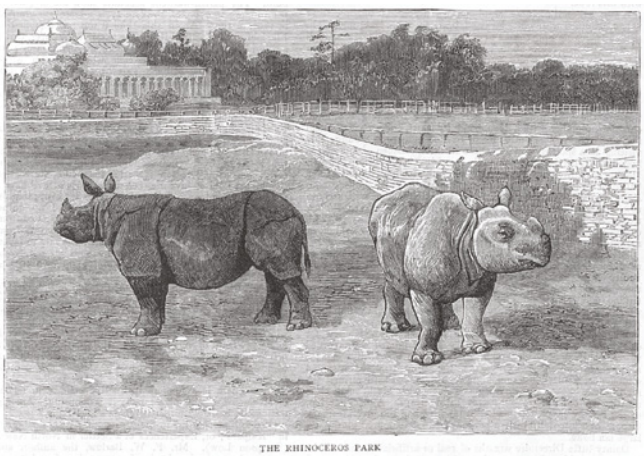

FIGURE 5.3 "The Rhinoceros Park" with two *R. unicornis* in the grounds of the Anand Bagh Palace in Darbhanga in 1888. Photograph by Messrs. Bourne and Shepherd of Calcutta
GRAPHIC, 1 DECEMBER 1888, P. 566

*3. 1876-02 to 1903
There are several references to rhinos during this period of 27 years.

1876-01. Albert Edward, Prince of Wales (1841–1910) visited Gwalior from 31 January to 3 February 1876 as guest of Maharaja Jayajirao Scindia (1843–1886). A fight between a rhino and a tiger was planned but was cancelled (*Homeward Mail from India* 1876-02-14).

1880s. Set in the Gwalior Fort before it was handed over to the ruling Scindia family in 1886, a story was doing the rounds of a dangerous game of football: "there is, or used to be, a rhinoceros at the capital at Gwalior whose homicidal instincts provided much sport for subalterns quartered at Gwalior before the fort was surrendered to Scindia. The game only required two players beside the rhinoceros, and was very simple. The beast had an exceedingly violent temper, and was confined in an enclosure half as large as Leicester Square, surrounded with pillars, between which a man could slip easily, but too close for the monster's bulk to pass. Somewhere inside the enclosure his food bucket lay, and the players, taking opposite sides of the enclosure, played football with the bucket. It differed from ordinary football, because only one player could play at a time – the rhinoceros was always looking after the other – and you could never get more than one kick, because the instant the rhinoceros heard the bang he was round and after you like a locomotive. That was the chance of the other player, who, dashing in full speed after the beast, was able to get one good kick while Rhino was narrowly missing his friend at the opposite barrier. Then it was his turn to flee, with the creature after him, and, for the other to get a kick. Halftime was always called when the rhinoceros began to play cunning and lurked near the bucket" (*Times of India* 1900-03-06; E. Russell 1905: 630).

1890-03. It may have been the same animal seen in March 1890 when the Polish Count Josef Potocki (1862–1922) visited Maharaja Madho Rao Scindia (1876–1925). He saw a small menagerie with "a slow-walking rhinoceros" (Potocki 1896: 50). The red colour mentioned by Loisel (1912, vol. 3: 18) is not clear in the original Polish account.

1903-01. During the preparations in January 1903 for the Delhi Durbar, one of the local rulers, probably the Maharaja of Gwalior, "carried away by his enthusiasm and his desire for effect at all cost, is actually seeking permission to bring a rhino" (*Homeward Mail from India* 1902-12-29).

India – Locality Unknown

The following four entries have no relation to each other. Due to uncertainties, these are not included in the totals in 5.3 or in Table 5.7.

1. 1830s
A young rhino captured in an unknown place, died on the way to Kolkata by being overfed (E. Roberts 1835, vol. 1: 129–130).

2. M Undated
A rhino in chains is depicted in a coloured drawing, without date or place (fig. 5.4). The item was sold at Sotheby's in the sale of the collection of the archaeologist Hagop Kevorkian (1872–1962) on 3 April 1978 (Sotheby's 1978). Rookmaaker (1997d) published the drawing, but further details remain elusive. The animal was not necessarily kept in South Asia.

3. Undated
A rhino tethered both at one front and one hind leg is shown in a drawing (fig. 5.5). Location and date are unknown, therefore the animal was not necessarily kept in South Asia.

4. Undated
A watercolour made in India in the 19th century (Freedman 2003) could depict a rhino in captivity (fig. 5.6).

Jaipur, Rajasthan – Maharaja of Jaipur

1. Period 1845 to 1861
A reference to a rhino in Jaipur in 1845 and a woodcut published in 1861 may indicate one or two specimens (here combined).

1845-12-04. After meeting Maharaja Ram Singh II (1835–1880) of Jaipur, the Russian aristocrat Prince Alexis Soltykoff (1806–1859) was taken on a tour through the town and saw a rhino roaming freely followed by

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FIGURE 5.4 A male rhinoceros facing right chained by its front feet to a low post. Size 23,7 × 37.2 cm. Probably early 19th century. Location unknown. Sold at Sotheby's, 3 April 1978, p. 110, lot 124
PHOTOGRAPH IN COLLECTION OF T.H. CLARKE

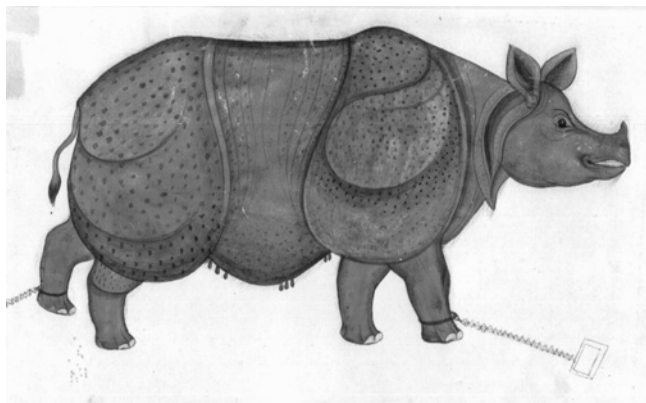

FIGURE 5.5 Rhinoceros in chains. The location and date are unknown
PHOTOGRAPH IN COLLECTION OF T.H. CLARKE

FIGURE 5.6 Watercolour of the 19th century, without any details. Ink and translucent watercolour on paper, 14 × 19.36 cm. Inscription in Hindi above animal: "gaiṅḍa", see chapter 15 note 82
PRESENT WHEREABOUTS UNKNOWN; FROM AARON M. FREEDMAN, *MALA KE MANKE*, 2003, P. 198, NO. 102

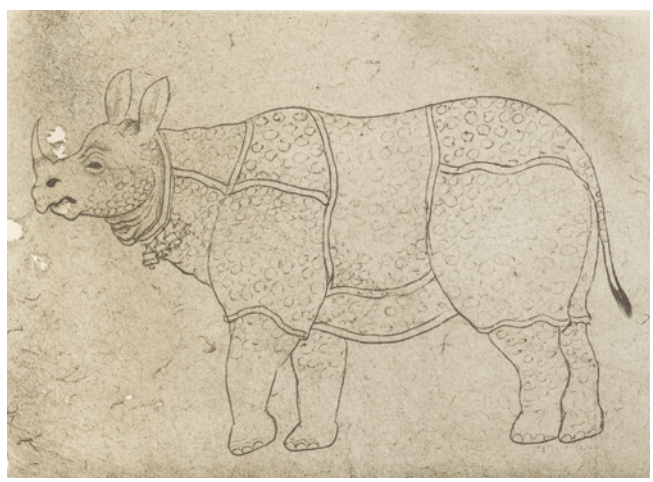

FIGURE 5.7 Rhinoceros with a collar around the neck embellished with three small bells, possibly drawn in the late 19th century. Published by the Ceylonese art historian Ananda Kentish Muthu Coomaraswamy (1877–1947) from the collection of the painter Gogonendranath Tagore (1868–1938)
COOMARASWAMY, *INDIAN DRAWINGS*, 1910, PL. 21 (LOWER FIGURE)

two people guiding the animal with sticks as if it was a buffalo (Soltykoff 1848: 367, 1858: 435, see chapter 15 note 86).

[1861]. There is an Indian woodcut of a rhino in company of its groom, published in 1861 as a frontispiece in *Pustak vidyāṅkur* (Jaipur) (Bautze 1985: 427). The rhino was paraded in front of the Maharaja Ram Singh II in 1861 or possibly earlier (chapter 15 note 87; fig. 15.67).

Jaipur, Rajasthan – Ram Newas Public Gardens

These gardens were opened in 1868 by order of Sawai Ram Singh of Jaipur (chapter 15, note 98).

1–2. Period 1886 to 1903

There are records of one or two rhinos in Jaipur 1886–1903 on three separate occasions, which may all refer to the same specimens. Three undated drawings could well depict these animals, although details cannot be verified: one sketch published by Coomaraswamy (1910, pl. 21) shows a rhino with a thin horn carrying a collar with three bells (fig. 5.7), and two possibly related watercolours by a Rajasthani artist depict a rhino tied to a stick in the ground (figs. 15.71, 15.72).

1886-01. Prince Louis Josef Jérôme Bonaparte (1864–1932) during his tour of India (37.9) visited Jaipur where he saw elephants dressed to fight one or more rhinos (*Figaro* 1886-11-24).

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1893-03-04. Franz Ferdinand (1863–1914), Archduke of Austria, meets Maharaja Madho Singh II (1862–1922) and describes how two rhinos were fighting in their enclosure in March 1893. The animals were painted with black paint (Franz Ferdinand 1895, vol. 1: 335).

1903-01-22. In the Ram Niwas Garden, a pair of rhinos was seen by Vyas Ramshankar Sharma, Secretary to Dhandevi Mahodaya from the United Provinces (Tillotson 2006: 173).

*3. F 1946 to 1964. (from Udaipur)

A female rhino was received from Udaipur, and was alive in 1964 (Rookmaaker 1998: 79).

Jaldapara, West Bengal – Forest Department

1. M 1936-09-18 to 1936-11-17 †

A male rhino calf wandering aimlessly near the Salkumar Forest of Chilapata Range was captured on 18 September 1936, and died after two months (Meiklejohn 1937: 2).

Jeypore, Odisha – Maharaja of Jeypore

1. 1870s

A rhino was marched down from Kolkata (ca. 1000 km) and sold to "Raja of Jaipur" (Jeypore), Maharaja Ramchandra Dev III (ruled 1860–1889) for Rs 16,000 (Ball 1880: 570).

Junagadh, Gujarat – Nawab of Kathiawar

There was also at least one *R. sondaicus* in Junagadh in 1900 (48.2).

1. 1876, 1889

1876. In early 1876, the english traveler Andrew Wilson (1831–1881) met Nawab Mohammad Mahabat Khanji II (1838–1882) who staged a fight with elephants for his visitor. There also was a rhino, but Wilson was told that the animal had killed either a man or an elephant every time when it was brought out for battle in the past, and therefore was no longer involved (Wilson 1876: 206).

1889-02-26. The astronomer John James Aubertin (1818–1900) was in Junagadh on 26 February 1889. Being shown around by Chhaganlal Harilal Pandya (1859–1935) on behalf of Nawab Mohammad Bahadur Khanji III (1856–1892), he saw an "enormous rhinoceros", presumably kept in an enclosure unconnected with the zoo where he visited later in the day (Aubertin 1892: 83).

Kandy, Sri Lanka – King Rajasinghe II

1. 1643

The German officer Johann Jacob Saar (1625–1664) recorded in his travel journal that in 1643 the King of Bengal sent an ambassador to the Emperor of Kandy (Candi) with a gift of a living rhinoceros hoping to receive elephants in return (Saar 1662: 89). Bengal was ruled by Shah Jahan's second son Prince Shah Shuja (1616–1661) from 1639 to 1647, while Kandy was ruled by King Rajasinghe II (1608–1687) from 1635–1687. As Saar only reached Sri Lanka in 1647, maybe the rhino was still alive at the time.

Kassimbazar (Cassamabasar), Bihar – Dutch Factory

*1. 1671

Local hunters presented a young rhino standing 5 feet (1.5 m) high, with a small horn, to Jacob Verburgh (d. 1680), Director of the VOC (Dutch East India Company) factory (Graaff 1701: 133).

Kathmandu, Nepal – King of Nepal

1. 1791 (to Kolkata: Governor of Bengal)

On 10 October 1791, Rana Bahadur Shah of Nepal (1778–1806) wrote to Major General Charles Stuart (1758–1828), representing the British Government in Kolkata, with the remark: "As requested by him the writer has been on the lookout for rhinoceros. His people caught one in the forest. As the animal is perfectly wild just now it is being tamed and will be sent down to Calcutta after the rains in the month of Kartik [November]" (National Archives of India 1949, vol. 9: 319). There are no further data.

2. Period 1797 to 1832

Hodgson (1832) mentioned a rhino kept at Kathmandu for 35 years "without exhibiting any symptoms of approaching decline." As it was probably still alive when Hodgson wrote, the animal could have arrived around 1797. The location of the Menagerie of King Rajendra Bikram Shah (1813–1881) is not known in detail.

*3. M 1823. Male rhino, father of calf born in 1824.

*4. F 1823. Female rhino, mother of calf born in 1824.

*5. M 1824-05 (birth) to 1834 (to Kolkata, but final destination not recorded)

Brian Houghton Hodgson (1800–1894) first went to work in Kathmandu in 1824 and stayed until 1844, since 1831 as British Resident. He had ample opportunity to study the local wildlife, then practically unknown (Cocker & Inskipp 1988; Lowther 2019). He was responsible for commissioning hundreds of watercolour drawings of mammals and birds, in preparation of a grand work on the region which never appeared. He also sent three rhino specimens to the British Museum, listed at the time of accession in 1845 as the skin of foetus, skull of just-born specimen, and a partial left side of lower jaw of *R. unicornis* (Gray 1846: 35; fig. 5.11). The specimens were transferred to

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the Natural History Museum, where the skull is still present (no. 722b or NHM 1845.1.8.85).

Hodgson wrote about a male rhino born in Kathmandu in the menagerie of King Rajendra in May 1824 (Rookmaaker 1979; Datta 2004: 154). He followed its growth during the first year and provided several measurements subsequently (Hodgson 1825, 1826a, 1826b, 1827, 1832, 1834; see table 5.12). The animal was examined again in 1833 when it was sketched by a local artist.

There are two larger sets of drawings of animals made for Hodgson in Nepal, preserved in the library of the Zoological Society of London (ZSL, Hodgson Drawings) and in the Natural History Museum, London (NHM, Zoology Special Collections 88 f HOD). The ZSL set was donated to the Society by Hodgson in 1874. Both sets include drawings of *R. unicornis* showing the animal born in 1824 when it was nine years old, as well as parts of a skull.

The ZSL set contains 456 art originals of the mammals of Nepal, bound in 2 volumes, and has been digitized in 2015 accessible through the ZSL website. There is only one sheet with a rhinoceros (vol. 2, no. 50), with sketches and handwritten information on both sides (figs. 5.8, 5.9). The front has a complete coloured sketch showing a rhinoceros in lateral view, first published in Rookmaaker (1979). There are at least two other outlines of the rhinoceros sketched on the same paper, very faint, and invisible in the reproductions. The main title below the animal reads: "Rhinoceros 9 years old. male. March 1, 1833, Hab. Saul forest." Below the head: "Home Jan^{y} 42." There are some notes written in pencil on the right side of the paper, now almost invisible but repeated on the reverse. On the reverse of the same sheet is another sketch of the rhino seen from the side, with below it "Rhinoceros 5 ½ years", therefore possibly made before the one on the front, but the reading of "5" is inconclusive. Across the rear part of the body are some longer notes, probably written by Hodgson:

> Rhinoceros March 1, 1833. 9 yrs old.
> [Illegible] to rump 7 – 4 – ½
> Height afore 5 – 2 – 0
> Length of head 2 – 5 – 0
> Do [Length] of horn 0 – 6 – 0
> Teeth perfect, penis erigible, scrotum empty. Book says teeth incisors 2-2/2-2, canines 0-0/0-0, molars 7-7/7-7. In this young animal the dental system is different & thus, incisors 1-1/1-1, canines none, molars 6-6/6-6 & so in a scull I have.
> Incisors lateral separate, those of lower jaw elongated & projected forwards, convex before, flat & scarped behind. those of upper jaw flat & smooth crowned, low, long & narrow, grinding on inner scarped surface of lower molars remote from incisors – 6 inches. Close, increasing in size backwards. 1st nearly flat on crown, rest have crowns rather smooth between their serpentine edges.
>
> This animal shewed first symptoms of puberty in [beginning of] his 10th year, when he went to Calcutta. He was born in the Durbar's menagerie as elsewhere recorded by me.

TABLE 5.12 Growth of a male *R. unicornis* born in Kathmandu in May 1824

Age	Length of body	Shoulder height	Circumference	Length of head
3 days	3 ft 4 ½ in	2 ft	4 ft ¼ in	1 ft ½ in
(May 1824)	103 cm	61 cm	122.5 cm	31.7 cm
1 month	3 ft 10 in	2 ft 5 in	4 ft 5 in	1 ft 2 in
(June 1824)	117 cm	74 cm	134.6 cm	35.6 cm
14 months	5 ft 10 in	4 ft	7 ft	
(July 1825)	178 cm	122 cm	213.4 cm	
19 months	7 ft 3 in	4 ft 4 in	9 ft 5 in	
(December 1825)	221 cm	132 cm	287 cm	
8 years	7 ft 3 in	4 ft 10 in	10 ft 5 in	2 ft 4 in
(1832)	221 cm	147 cm	317.6 cm	71 cm
9 years	7 ft 4 ½ in	5 ft 2 in		2 ft 5 in
(1833)	224.8 cm	157.5 cm		74 cm

From the measurements provided by Hodgson (1825, 1826, 1832) and on the watercolour in ZSL (see Rookmaaker 1979). Recorded in feet (ft) and inches (in), the conversion to metric is added.

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FIGURE 5.8
"Rhinoceros. 9 years old. Male. March 1, 1833. Hab. Saul forest." Drawing by anonymous artist made for Brian Houghton Hodgson (1800–1894) in the menagerie of the King of Nepal
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FIGURE 5.9
Reverse of the sheet on the rhinoceros with notes by Hodgson in the ZSL copy, showing a hitherto unpublished sketch of the same animal
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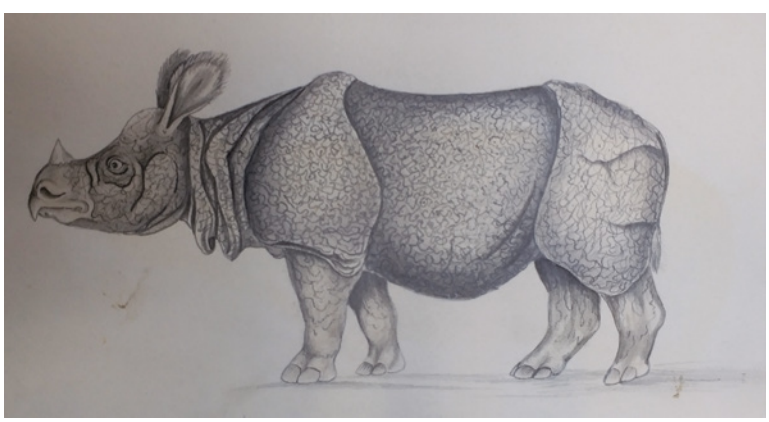

FIGURE 5.10
"Rhinoceros. 9 years old. mas. 1/15 nat. size. Hab. The Saul forest." Drawing by anonymous artist made for Brian Houghton Hodgson (1800–1894) in the menagerie of the King of Nepal
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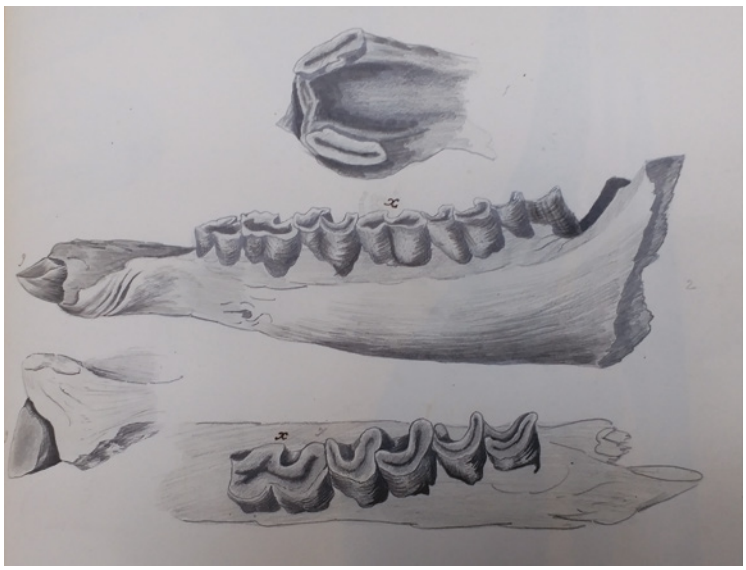

FIGURE 5.11
"Rhinoceros Unicornis of the Lower region of Nepal. 1. End of upper jaw. 2, 3, 4. Lower jaw. Part VII. Pl. I."
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The transfer to Kolkata, presumably in 1834, mentioned here by Hodgson is not documented elsewhere and the fate of the animal remains obscure. This drawing is not signed, but a few others in this volume were made by "Raj Man Sing Chitrakar or artist", who must have been employed by Hodgson for this work and an early member of the well-known Chitrakar family of artists (24.14).

The NHM set was intended to illustrate a colour plate book on Nepalese mammals which never materialized. The drawings are more highly finished but lack the annotations. The drawing of the rhino at nine years seen from the side is a faithful copy of the main one in the ZSL set (fig. 5.10). Besides there is a sheet showing parts of the upper and lower jaws of a *R. unicornis* skull, possibly the specimen listed by Gray (1847: 72, 1862: 281) in the British Museum (fig. 5.11).

6–7. 1845-01

When Werner Hoffmeister (1819–1845) first entered Kathmandu during the visit of Prince Friedrich Wilhelm Waldemar (1817–1849) in January 1845, he crossed the town on elephant back. In an otherwise unidentified place, he passed "through a high, but narrow gate-way, into a court, where we saw several tame rhinoceroses, kept here on account of the custom of the country, which required that, on the death of the Rajah, one of these creatures should be slain, and imposes on the highest personages in the state the duty of devouring it" (Hoffmeister 1847: 148, 1848: 229). The actual number of rhinos kept in the Nepalese capital during the 19th century is irretrievable in the absence of eyewitness accounts.

8. 1851-01-12

On a diplomatic visit to Kathmandu in 1851, Francis Egerton, Earl of Ellesmere (1800–1857) "visited a rhinoceros, which they keep tied up in a yard; it was firmly secured to a post, by a chain round its neck, and by another one round its fore-legs; they said it was much inclined to be mischievous" (Egerton 1852, vol. 1: 217).

*9–11. 1907

According to Lydekker (1909), six male rhinos were captured alive during the annual hunt in 1907 (24.15). Three were kept by the Nepal Government to be tamed and trained for racing. The other three rhino were sold to the German animal dealer Carl Hagenbeck (1844–1913) and sold to zoos in Antwerp, Manchester and New York (S. Flower 1908: 12).

12. 1932, 1939

In an album of photographs taken in 1932 by the diplomat and explorer Philips Christiaan Visser (1882–1955), Dutch envoy to British India 1931–1937, there are two images of a young *R. unicornis* (figs. 5.12, 5.13). The animal is walking freely, supervised by a keeper, in front of Maharaja Kaiser Shumsher (1892–1964) and other dignitaries (Visser 1932).

In September 1939, Hassoldt Davis (1907–1959) in the company of Armand Georges Denis (1896–1972) was in Kathmandu (24.40), where he mentioned a private zoo in the premises of the Royal Palace, with a rhino "which must be killed at the exact moment of the Maharaja's death" (Davis 1940: 281). This is likely the specimen earlier reported for 1939 by Rookmaaker & Reynolds (1985: 152).

Kolkata (*Calcutta*), *West Bengal*

There have been rhinos in at least 14 different locations in or near the town of Kolkata, mostly known from reports in the 19th century. They are listed in a generally chronological order, as follows:

Captain Udall (from Gulkindall)	1683
French factory at Chandernagor	1706, 1769
Nawab of Bengal – see Murshidabad	1716

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FIGURE 5.12
Rhinoceros shown by Maharaja Kaiser Shumsher to the envoy of The Netherlands, Philips Christiaan Visser (1882–1955) at a state visit in 1932
NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF THE NETHERLANDS, THE HAGUE: NL-HANA_2.21.284_37_001

FIGURE 5.13
Rhinoceros shown in 1932 to the Dutch envoy P.C. Visser by Maharaja Kaiser Shumsher (with white beard)
NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF THE NETHERLANDS, THE HAGUE: NL-HANA_2.21.284_37_001

Dutch VOC trading post at Hooghly	1738
British Governor of Bengal	1765, 1791, 1793
Barrackpore Park	1808, 1827, 1833, 1837, 1838, 1839, 1856, 1856, 1864
Maharaja Buddynath Roy	1829, 1837
Indian Rajah in Alipore	1858
'Seven Tanks' in Cossipore	1858
Raja of Burdwan	1859, 1859
Raja Rajendra Mullick	1867, 1871
Alipore Zoological Gardens	1877, 1887, 1905, 1909, 1909, 1912, 1925, 1932, 1932, 1938
W. Rutledge (dealer), Entally	1875
King Wajid Ali Shah of Oudh	1887
William Jamrach (dealer)	exports

Kolkata (*Calcutta*) – *Captain Udall*

1. F 1683 (to London, UK, where died 1686-09-26)

The mariner Edward Barlow (1642–1707) kept a unique illustrated journal during his travels around the globe. When he was in Kolkata at the end of 1683, he noted that "In the country are bred the great beasts called the 'rhinosarus', and many wild and cruel tigers, it being a very level country and full of woods and rivers" (Lubbock 1934: 361).

FIGURE 5.14 Rhinoceros depicted by Edward Barlow (1642–1707) in 1683
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The journal has a plate of a rhino (Rookmaaker 2019a), to which Barlow later added that it was "The emblem of Risnosarus, that was brought from Bangall in ye yeare 1684 and sould at London for two thousand one hundred pound" (fig. 5.14). This reference identifies the animal as a female rhino transported on board the *Herbert* with Captain Henry Udall (Rookmaaker 1978b: 23, 1998: 82, 2007). The history of this animal in captivity in England is still only partly known, but it died on 21 September 1686 (figs. 5.15, 5.16). One of the sources about her life is the text on an engraving of a rhino modelled after Dürer, where the origin of the animal is said to be "the Court of the King of Gulkindall" (Rookmaaker 1978b, no. 4.1). Gulkindall remains unidentified, and if it was Golconda, a kingdom around the present Hyderabad, this would tell us little about the actual provenance.

Kolkata (Calcutta) – French Factory at Chandernagor

1. 1706 to 1716 (to Nawab of Bengal)

Pierre Dulivier (1663–1722), Director of the French factory of Bengal, in 1701 received an order to buy a rhino for the menagerie of King Louis XIV of France. The animal was caught in 1706 and kept at Chandernagor. As all captains of commercial vessels refused to take the animal onboard, the animal soon became so large that it was impossible

FIGURE 5.15
"Exact Draught of that famous Beast the Rhinoserus that latley came." Broadsheet of the rhinoceros shown in London from August 1684
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FIGURE 5.16
Anonymous drawing of the female rhinoceros in London from 1684
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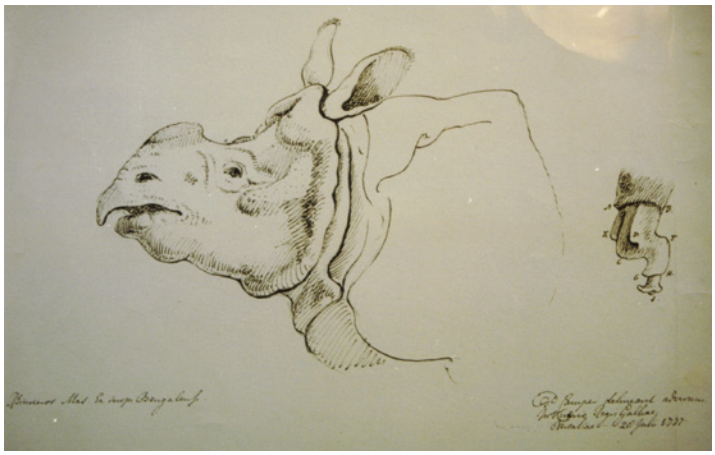

FIGURE 5.17
Sketch dated 28 July 1777 by Petrus Camper showing the Versailles Rhinoceros exhibited 1770 to 1793. The Latin text reads: "Rhinoceros Mas. Ex Bengalensi. P. Camper delineavit ad vivum. In Vendrio Regis Galliae. Versaliae 28 Julii 1777."
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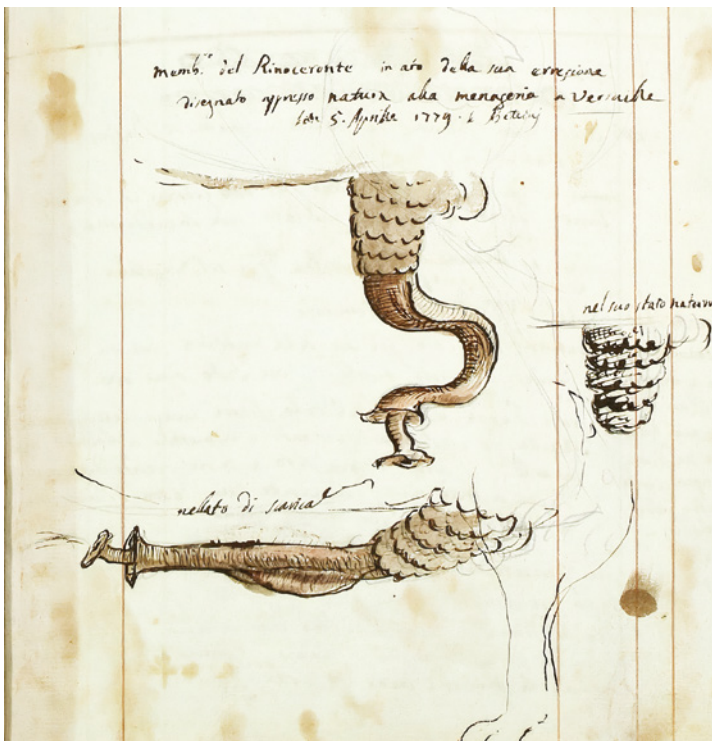
memb.r del Rinoceronte in ato dela sua erresione
Disegnato appresso natura ala menagerie a Versailles
del 5. Aprila 1779 di Bettini
nel suo stato natural
nelato di scarica

FIGURE 5.18
Detail of a page in a sketchbook by the Italian garden designer Francesco Bettini (1737–1815). He drew the penis of the rhino in Versailles in a state of erection at a visit on 5 April 1779. Text (upper figure): "mem^{br} del Rinoceronte in ato dela sua errezione, disegnato appresso natura ala menagerie a Versailles del 5. Aprila 1779 di Bettini"; (middle figure): "nel suo stato natural"; (lower figure) "in stato di scarica." Hence he drew the penis in a state of erection, in the natural state, and in state of discharge
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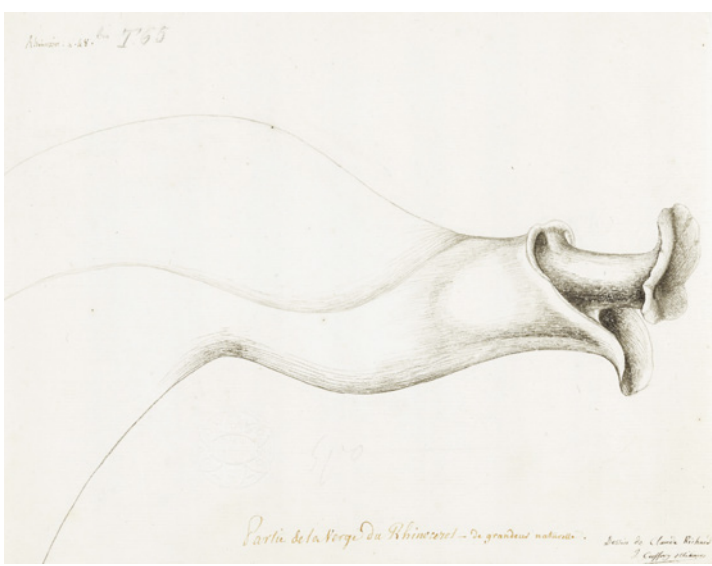

FIGURE 5.19
"La verge du rhinocéros, la dilatation inférieure de l'urètre ouverte" (Penis with the lower section of the urethra opened). One of the anatomical drawings made by Pierre Joseph Redouté (1759–1840) during the dissection of the Versailles Rhinoceros in 1793
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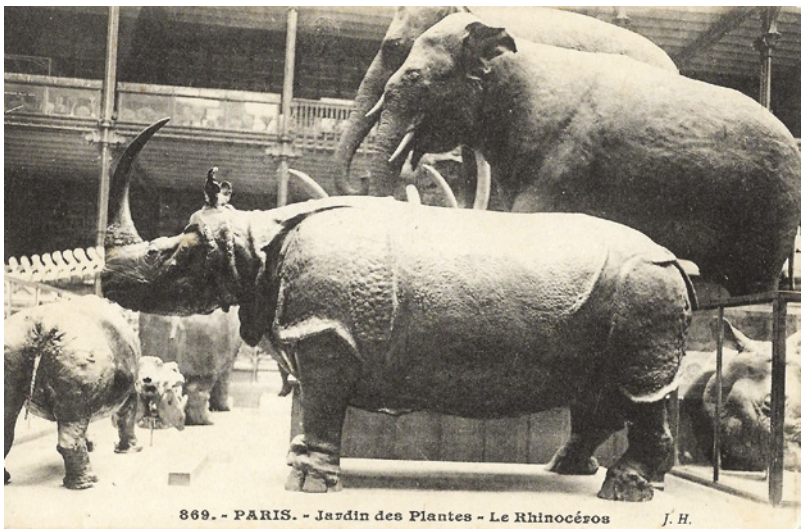

FIGURE 5.20
The mounted skin of the rhinoceros exhibited in the royal menagerie at Versailles from 1769 to 1791. During the 20th century a long horn belonging to a white rhino (*Ceratotherium simum*) was added to enhance the exhibit
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even to carry enough water for the journey. Therefore in 1716, the gentlemen of Chandernagor presented the rhino to the Nawab of Bengal. Dulivier had a bill of 1848 livres 7 sols 5 deniers for food of the rhino. At first the government refused to pay, but later it seems the amount was settled (Olagnier 1931: 526–527).

2. M 1769 (to Versailles, France, where it died 1793-09-23)
A young male rhino was donated to King Louis XV by the French Governor Jean-Baptiste Chevalier (1729–1789), who had visited Assam territory in 1755 (38.8). The origin of the animal is unknown. He was shipped on the *Duc de Praslin* on 22 December 1769 and arrived at the port of Lorient on 11 June 1770, completing his journey on foot to the menagerie at Versailles (Rookmaaker 1983d, 1998: 95; Pequignot 2013). He was kept at the famous royal menagerie at Versailles (fig. 5.17). Having survived the French Revolution of 1789, he is said to have drowned in his pool on 23 September 1793. This was one of the first male rhinos on public display in Europe. This male was eclectically visualised by the Italian traveller Francesco Bettini (1737–1815) at the time of sexual discharge (Hays 2002: 96) (fig. 5.18).

After death he was dissected by the anatomist Felix Vicq d'Azyr (1748–1794), when Pierre Joseph Redouté (1759–1840) executed 36 accurate drawings of anatomical parts (Saban 1983).These included a sketch of the penis (fig. 5.19). The skeleton and hide were added to the collection of the Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle, exhibited for a long time with a 80 cm long horn belonging to an African white rhino (fig. 5.20), now restored to a more natural size but not from the animal itself.

Kolkata (Calcutta), West Bengal – Dutch Trading Post at Hooghly

*1. F 1738 to 1740-11-30 (to The Netherlands, died 1758-04-14)
Clara, or the Dutch rhinoceros, which was exhibited throughout Europe between 1741 and 1758, has become famous in recent literature and children's books. Before her arrival in Holland she had been kept as a pet in India, and her early history has to be pieced together from just a few clues found on the engravings or broadsheets sold during her travels, newspaper reports and a few books. The first steps towards unraveling her story were taken by Rookmaaker (1973, 1978a).[1] I take some pride in having first rediscovered the significance of this rhino in the modern era, as part of the research of my first academic paper published on 14 June 1973 while I was just finishing my secondary school education at the Vossius Gymnasium of Amsterdam.

Clara, the often used name of this female rhino, first appeared in print in 1748. Once in the handwritten text on a drawing by Anton Clemens Lünenschloss (1678–1763) made in the German town of Würzburg on 3 August 1748 where she is referred to as "Jungfer Clara" or Miss Clara (Brod 1958; Neubert 2007). Again, the same name spelled "Clar" is found in the cartoon text spoken by a Dutch sailor proposing a toast to her "Clar als gij belieft een mahl te

1 The story of Clara, the Dutch Rhinoceros, was first highlighted by Rookmaaker (1973) and Clarke (1974), and soon followed by a series of ever more detailed accounts of her history and iconography: Rookmaaker 1998, 2011b; Rookmaaker & Monson 2000; Clarke 1986; Verhey 1992; Faust 2003; Ridley 2004; Doornbos 2006; Wenley 2021; Ridley 2022; van der Ham 2022.

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FIGURE 5.21
"Clar, als gij belieft een mahl te drincken" (Clar, what about a sip?). Small size broadsheet of 1747
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FIGURE 5.22
Portrait of Jan Albert Sichterman (1692–1764), the owner of Clara, painted by Philip van Dijk (1683–1753) in 1745. He is depicted together with his youngest son Jan Albert (1733–1750) on the left and Gerrit Jan (1725–1796) on the right. Oil on canvas, 148.5 × 117 cm
WITH PERMISSION © GRONINGER MUSEUM: NO. 1993.02.12, PHOTO BY JOHN STOEL

drincken" (Clar would you like a sip?) on a small broadsheet (fig. 5.21; Faust 1976; Rookmaaker & Monson 2000, fig. 5).

The animal was born on 19 June 1738 in Assam. Her mother was shot using bow and arrows when she was still very young, after which she was caught in snares. She was then obtained by Jan Albert Sichterman (1692–1764), the Director of the Dutch Factory at Hooghly (Chinsurah), just north of Kolkata (fig. 5.22). At first he kept her as a pet in the house (fig. 5.23), but when she grew too big, Sichterman arranged with the Dutch Captain Douwe Mout to take her to Holland. She was transported on board of the *Knappenhof*, which left Kolkata on 30 November 1740 and arrived in Holland on 20 July 1741 (van der Ham 2022: 46–53; fig. 5.24). Clara was then exhibited in Holland from August 1741 onwards, later touring in many European

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FIGURE 5.23 Postcard produced by Sigmund Lebel (1851–1918) of Vienna, printed by Philipp and Kramer (undated, around 1900). The scene is not annotated but might be reminiscent of Sichterman petting Clara when she was still a baby
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countries. Her image depicted on a broadsheet sold by her owner was seen by the public and scientists across Europe (fig. 38.1), challenged by only few alternatives (figs. 5.25, 5.26), like one by Elias Baeck produced in Vienna in 1746 or another engraved at the end of her tour in 1754 by the German cartographer Johann Friedrich Endersch in the present Poland (Chodynski 2020). She allegedly died in London on 14 April 1758.

Many elements of the early history of this animal are probably less certain than the repetition in the literature would make us believe. The place of capture was stated in the broadsheets sold by Douwe Mout as "Asem" in the dominions of the "Great Mogol." Although Assam was never under direct Mughal dominion, it is still such an iconic rhino state that it is quite possible that a rhino was obtained there in the 1730s. It was certainly common practice, then as for centuries afterwards, to kill the mother rhino to obtain the young one. Clara's age is not very clear because the sources tend to repeat figures from previous years, largely based on uncertain estimates which Douwe Mout heard in India. The literature at the time often said that she was 3 years old on arrival in Holland, hence her birth in 1738. However, the earliest Dutch newspaper reports of 1741 stated that she was 2 years old (hence birth in 1739), while at the time of her death in 1758 she would have been 21 years old (hence birth in 1737). While the exact date will always remain unknown, a birthday on 19 June 1738 is a useful compromise (Rookmaaker & Monson 2000: 38). Future historians will wonder about the significance of the date, and may then recall that it is linked to my dear wife Sandra (Sandy) Mary Anthea, b. Lawry (1947-06-19 to 2016-09-17).

There are no depictions of Clara while she was in Bengal. After arrival in Europe, her head was sketched

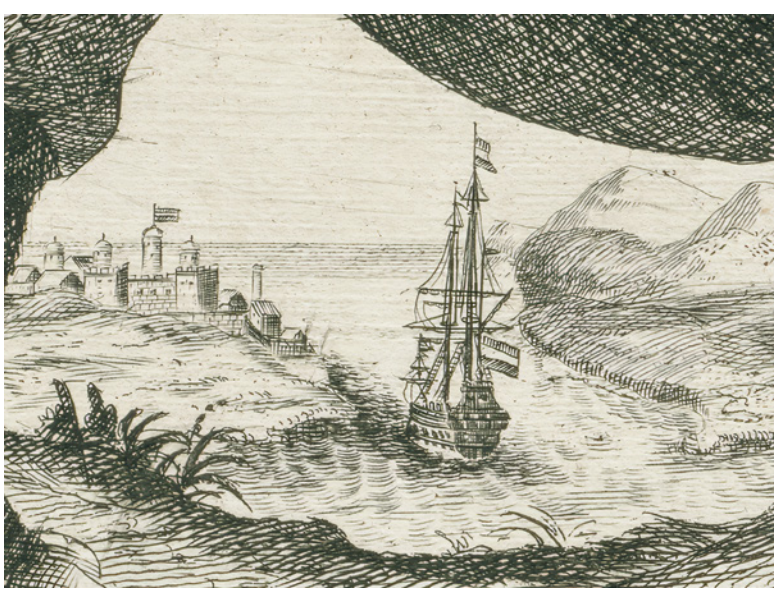

FIGURE 5.24
Scene showing the *Knappenhof* ready to transport Clara from Hooghly to Amsterdam in 1740. Detail of broadsheet issued for him during his European tour with Clara in 1747
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Eigentliche und accurate Vorſtellung
Des den 30. Octobr. Anno 1746. in der Kayſerl. Reſidenz - Stadt Wien um 11. Uhr Vormittags auf
einem mit 8. Pferden beſpannten Wagen, unter Begleitung 8. Cuiraſſiers, neu angekommenen Aſiatiſchen Wunder-Thiers
Rhinoceros oder Naſen-Horn genannt, ſo in der Provinz Aſem, unter dem Gebiet des Groß-Moguls gelegen,
gefangen worden.

FIGURE 5.25
The Dutch Rhinoceros Clara in Vienna in October 1746 escorted by a court servant. Detail of a broadsheet signed by Elias Baeck (1679–1747). Size 39.7 × 30.5 cm
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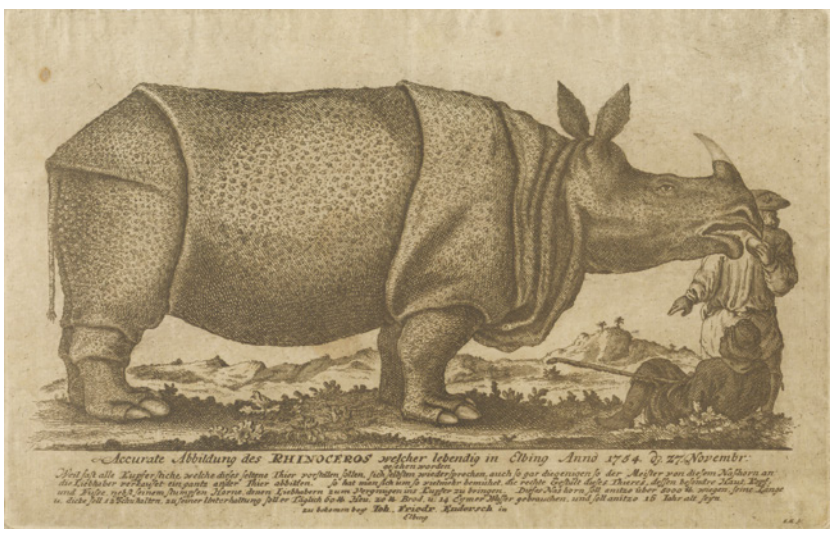

FIGURE 5.26
"Accurate Abbildung des Rhinoceros welcher lebendig in Elbing Anno 1754 dn. 27 Novembr. gesehen worden" (Accurate depiction of the Rhinoceros which was seen alive in Elbing on 27 November 1754). Broadsheet issued by Johann Friedrich Endersch (1705–1769), to show that Clara's appearance had changed much during the last years. He saw her in Elbing, now Elblag in northern Poland
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by the visiting Swedish librarian Magnus von Celse (1709–1784) during the fair in Amsterdam in September 1741 (Broberg 2006; van der Ham 2022: 59, fig. 14). In 1742 she was sketched in Leiden by Jan Wandelaar (1690–1759), who was working on the grand anatomical atlas eventually published in 1747 by Bernard Siegfried Albinus (1697–1770), incorporating the animal as a front view and back view in the background of two plates (4.7, fig. 4.6). Clara was also sketched by the young Petrus Camper (1722–1789), who was an accomplished and prolific artist besides his illustrious career as a scientist. Three drawings (black and white chalk on blue-grey paper) were first rediscovered among his papers and illustrated by Rookmaaker (1978a), showing an oblique front view, two views of the head, and a full side view (also figured in colour by Verhey 1992: 31–34 and van der Ham 2022, figs. 15, 16, 17). An oil painting by Camper remains lost, after it was listed in the legacy of Laurentius Theodorus Gronovius (1730–1777): "no. 51. Rhinoceros or two depictions of the animal painted in oil on a canvas in a black frame, 12 inches high and 10 inches wide [31 × 26 cm]" (Gronovius 1778: 42). Two of these drawings include the date 1748 (figs. 5.27, 5.28), which is clearly repeated ("Rhinoceros, drawn and sculptured in the year 1748 in Leiden") and linked with the history of Clara in Camper's published lecture on the rhinoceros (Camper 1782: 139, 147). This date 1748 doesn't fit Clara's known history, neither do these drawings depict a full-grown rhinoceros. Camper's side-view with a scale along all sides seems to indicate an animal with length of about 280 cm and height of 140 cm. This is similar to the

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FIGURE 5.27 Clara from the front, sketched by Petrus Camper (1722–1789) in Leiden at the end of 1741 or start of 1742, despite the inscription "P. Camper f. 1748." Size 21.7 × 16.4 cm
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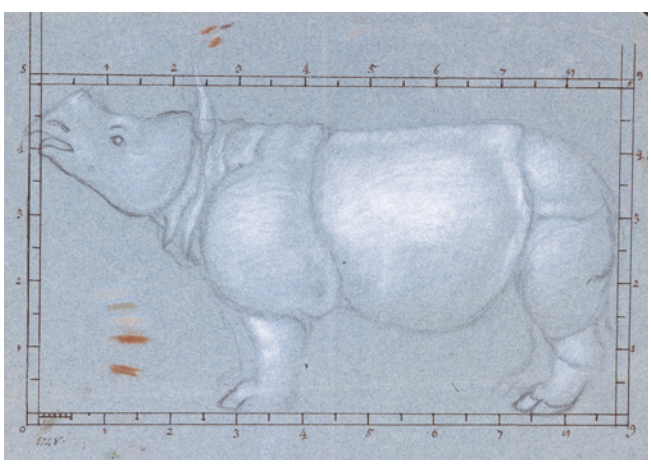

FIGURE 5.28 Side-view with measuring scales of Clara, the Dutch rhinoceros, sketched by Petrus Camper in Leiden in 1741 or 1742, despite the inscription "1748." Size 28.2 × 19.9 cm
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size of a male calf in Basel Zoo which at an age of 3 years and 5 months measured 287 cm long and 131 cm high, with a horn length of 16 cm (Lang 1961: 407). This shows that Clara's assumed birth in the middle of 1738 and a proposed date of Camper's drawings in late 1741 are the most likely scenario.

In India, Clara was first kept as a pet by the Director of the Dutch Factory located in Hooghly, now known as Chinsurah, on the right bank of the Hooghly River. Jan Albert Sichterman came to Bengal in 1725 and worked his way through the ranks until he reached the top position on 18 June 1734, which he continued until he left the country in 1744 (Feith 1915; Kühne 1995) (fig. 5.22). He married Sibylla Volker Sadelijn (1699–1781) in 1721 and they had 4 sons and 4 daughters, who went for their education to Holland. The life of Sichterman was the subject of an exhibition in the museum of his hometown Groningen (Jörg et al. 2014). Sichterman probably received Clara as a political donation from Nawab Shuija-ud-din-Khan (1670–1739), who represented the Mughal empire in Bengal. This was a common friendly gesture in the course of trade negotiations and was usually reciprocated with other presents. As Sichterman is thought to have received such a gift in 1738, Clara's donation is ascribed to the Nawab first by Kühne (1995: 44), unfortunately in the absence of the precise circumstances. The rhino might have been just a month old when she came to the household of Sichterman, small enough to be allowed to walk in "the dining room when ladies and gentlemen were eating, as a curiosity" (text of 1747 broadsheet). Such idyllic scenes could not last and obviously another solution had to be found to keep this ever-growing animal.

Sichterman negotiated with a visiting captain at the end of 1740, suggesting that he could take the young rhino to Holland, as she was still small enough to live on deck. Douwe Mout (1705–1775), also called Douwe Jansz. Mout van der Meer, was a Dutch captain born in Amsterdam, who made regular journeys to the East for the Dutch East India Co. (van der Ham 2022). On his third journey, he was second in command as First Mate (Opperstuurman) on the *Phoenix*, which left Texel 12 October 1739 and reached Batavia 27 April 1740. Douwe Mout returned on the *Horssen* first calling in Bengal, where he was promoted to Captain (Schipper) on 18 September 1740 by Sichterman due to the death of the original captain Jan Luders during the journey. While in Bengal, he was transferred to another ship called the *Knappenhof* which was owned by the VOC-Chamber of Rotterdam. The *Knappenhof* under command of Douwe Mout and carrying the rhinoceros started its return journey on 30 November 1740 in a small fleet of 4 ships. After a transit stop at the Cape of Good

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FIGURE 5.29 Clara in India, drawn by Sarah Hewitt for "The true story of the rhino who became a superstar!" first published in London in 2016
FROM *CLARA: THE TRUE STORY OF CLARA THE RHINO* © SARAH HEWITT 2016 WWW.BOOKSBYSARAH.CO.UK 'BOOKS BY SARAH PUBLISHING'

Hope from 2 to 20 March 1741, it reached the anchorage of Goeree (in Zeeland south of Rotterdam) on 20 July 1741.

Perhaps unexpectedly, Clara survived the journey very well, and soon after arrival in Holland she was taken to fairs in Amsterdam and Leiden to be shown as a complete novelty to the Dutch public. Douwe Mout became animal showman and as a true entrepreneur was able to take Clara around Europe in a waggon drawn by horses, showing her in an ever-increasing list of towns and countries, listed by Rookmaaker (1998: 61–67), and with new finds by Faust (2003: 54–59) and Van der Ham (2022: 183–185).

From humble beginnings, the story of her tour has become an inspiration to artists and authors in a variety of disciplines, and a welcome subject in stories for young children (fig. 5.29). She has become one of the most famous rhinos in the western world.

Kolkata (*Calcutta*) – *British Governor of Bengal*

1. 1765-12-18

The Governor Robert Clive, 1st Baron Clive (1725–1774) staged a fight between a rhino and an elephant, witnessed by the Dutch Governor George Lodewijk Vernet (1711–1775) and the French Governor Jean Law de Lauriston (1719–1797) in Fort William (Champion 1765; Curzon 1925: 257). Colonel Alexander Champion (d. 1823) noted that as the rhino "could not be moved there was no battle" (S.C. Ghosh 1970: 148).

2. 1791

The rhino offered by the King of Nepal was supposed to be sent to Kolkata in November 1791 (see Kathmandu). If it arrived in Kolkata still alive, it might have been kept by the Governor-General Charles Cornwallis (1738–1805).

3. 1793

The ruler of Gwalior Mahadaji Shinde (1730–1794) sent a letter to Governor John Shore (1751–1834) informing that he had sent him a rhinoceros (National Archives of India 1949, vol. 10: 247).

Kolkata (*Calcutta*) – *Barrackpore Park* (*1800–1876*)

When Richard Colley Wellesley, 1st Marquess Wellesley (1760–1842) was Governor of the Presidency of Fort William 1798–1805, he constructed a new mansion in Barrackpore, just north of the centre of Kolkata on the banks of the Hooghly River. He also started to keep animals in the surrounding park, which could be seen as the first zoological garden in India. Bishop Reginald Heber (1783–1826) visiting in 1823 never mentioned the presence of a rhino (Heber 1828). A single rhino is mentioned in 1827 (no. 2), and from 1837 to 1857 there must have been at least a pair (nos. 2 and 4). Sometimes animals in transit were deposited in the park while shipment was organized. Animals were no longer exhibited in Barrackpore Park after 1876 in favour of the new public zoo in Alipore.

The Curator of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Edward Blyth (1810–1873) wrote in 1862 about a female rhino skull in the Calcutta Medical College, which was "one of a pair that lived about 45 years in captivity in Barrackpore Park. I have repeatedly seen the pair when alive, many years ago" (Blyth 1862a155). Blyth arrived in Calcutta in 1841, hence this is the first possible date of his observations.

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There are no records of the first quarter of the century (1800–1825) which might tally with this remark. It is most likely that he saw the pair here listed as no. 2 (from 1827) and no. 4 (from 1837), but the longevity of even one of these as stated by Blyth cannot be verified. This is unfortunate because a stay of 45 years exceeds any other record in captivity (Rookmaaker 1998: 22). The female skeleton from the Medical College was transferred to the Indian Museum in 1879 and listed by Sclater (1891: 202, no. b).

1. 1808

Two unidentified hunters captured a rhino in the Rajmahal Hills in 1808 (29.1). It became tame after only two days, and was then taken to Kolkata, where it was expected in April (Sandeman 1868, vol. 4: 196, after *Calcutta Gazette* 1808-04-07). There is no record of its arrival.

2. 1827-12-12 to 1857

There are regular reports of rhinos in Barrackpore, a single animal from 1827, and a pair from 1837, until 1857. These instances are here combined as two animals (no. 2, no. 4), even though there is no certainty that the same animals were actually present and were not replaced after transfer or death.

1827-12-12. A pet rhino of Lord Amherst (1773–1857) attacked Jemmy G. (Shikarree 1830: 253).

1829. At the time of Governor Lord William Bentinck (1774–1839), the French naturalist Victor Jacquemont (1801–1832) saw a rhino in Barrackpore Park, kept chained on one foot to a tree on the edge of a meadow. It had been captured in the mountains on the other side of the Ganges, probably northern Bihar (Jacquemont 1841, vol. 1: 169; Geoffroy St. Hilaire 1842: 69).

1833. The English travel writer and poet Emma Roberts (1791–1840) visited Barrackpore where she saw one rhino content in a wallow (Roberts 1835, vol. 1: 129).

1837-02-11 The English novelist Emily Eden (1797–1869) heard that one of the rhinos in Barrackpore had a tendency to attack elderly gentlemen (Eleanor Eden 1872, vol. 1: 303). She expanded about this dangerous habit on 22 May 1837, when she also made it clear that there was a pair of rhinos in the park (Eden 1872, vol. 2: 23). Her brother, Governor Lord Auckland (1784–1849), she wrote, "has got an odd twist upon the subject of the rhinoceroses, and connives at their fence not being mended, so that they may roam about the park, whereby a respectable elderly gentleman, given to dining out at the cantonments, has been twice nearly frightened into fits. The story, now twice repeated, of the two beasts roaring as they pursue his buggy is very moving to hear; and his Excellency smiles complacently and says, 'Yes, they are fine beasts and not the least vicious.'"

1838. Adolphe Delessert (1809–1869) sees "des rhinocéros" (plural) in Barrackpore (Delessert 1843: 109).

1841-10-19. A male rhino broke loose and killed a sepoy of the 28th Regiment Native Infantry (*Reading Mercury* 1842-01-15, also without date in Grant 1860: 18).

1851. Frederick Fiebig took a photo of the rhino pool, showing one rhino (fig. 5.30). Symons (1935: 128) refers to a Rhino Tank, a name still used after the closure of the Barrackpore menagerie.

1851-01-12. Francis Egerton, Earl of Ellesmere (1800–1857) in the company of John Hunter Littler (1783–1856) sees 2 rhinos (F. Egerton 1852, vol. 1: 150).

1857. Colesworthey Grant (1813–1880) made a sketch of the rhino enclosure in Barrackpore showing 2 rhinos (Grant 1860: 18) (fig. 5.31).

3. M 1833 to 1834 (to Atkins in United Kingdom)

A 3-year old male rhino received in June 1834 by the English menagerie owner Thomas Atkins (1764–1848) in Liverpool had lived for some time in Barrackpore prior to shipment (4.12).

4. 1837-05-22 to 1857

This is the presumed second specimen referred to in the pair together with no. 2 of 1827. A pair was first mentioned by Emily Eden in 1837. Delessert saw more than one rhino in 1838. Francis Egerton saw a pair in 1851. The sketch of 1857 by Colesworthey Grant shows 2 specimens.

5. M 1838-04

A young male rhino was sent by the last Ahom King of Assam, Purander Singh (1807–1846), to Governor Lord Auckland (Lahiri 1954: 199).

6. F 1839 (to Jakarta, Indonesia)

Among papers relating to the work of the Natuurkundige Commissie voor Nederlands-Indië (Commission for Nature in the Dutch East Indies) there is a drawing of a young rhino (fig. 5.32). The written caption explains that it was a female "brought from Calcutta in 1839." This is most likely to refer to an arrival in Jakarta (Batavia), Indonesia, where the Commission was based since 1820.

7. M 1856-07 (from Lucknow) to 1862

An animal obtained in Lucknow at the sale of King of Oudh (6.11). The rhino was transported to Kolkata for Edward Blyth, but apparently transport to England delayed and the animal died in Kolkata. This and the next rhino might have been kept in Barrackpore.

8. F 1856-07 (from Lucknow) to 1860

From sale of King of Oudh, Lucknow, with previous male (6.11).

*9. M 1864-03-11 (to United Kingdom)

In July 1864, three *R. unicornis* arrived in England, one pair destined for the London Zoo, and a male for the Dublin

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FIGURE 5.30
Photograph of rhino pool in Barrackpore Park in 1850 taken by Frederick Fiebig
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FIGURE 5.31
Sketch of rhino enclosure in Barrackpore Park by Colesworthey Grant (1813–1880) in 1857
GRANT, *RURAL LIFE IN BENGAL*, 1860, P. 18

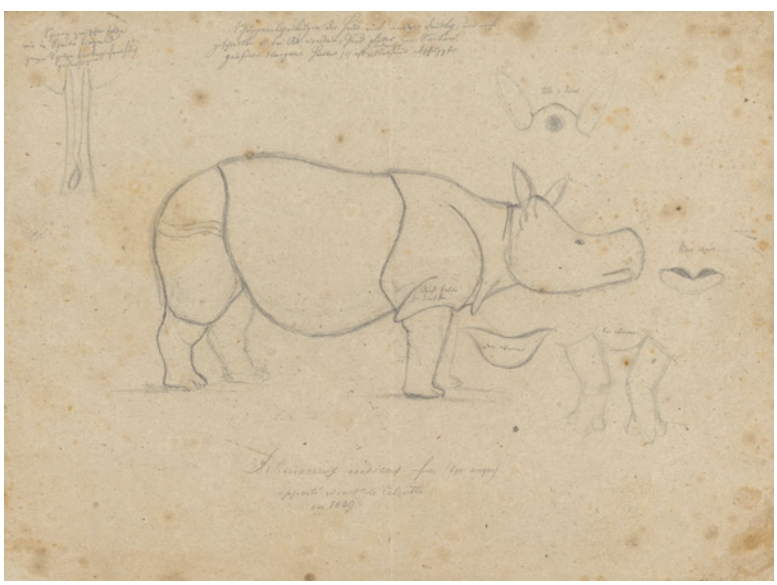

FIGURE 5.32
"Rhinocéros vivant fem. âge moyen, apporté vivant de Calcutta en 1839" (Female rhinoceros alive, middle age, brought alive from Calcutta in 1839). Anonymous drawing preserved among papers of the Natuurkundige Commissie voor Nederlands-Indië
NATURALIS, LEIDEN, S2 I NC MAMMALIA 341-18, HTTPS://DH.BRILL.COM/NCO/VIEW/NCO_NNM001000392/MAKINGSENSE

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Zoo. At least the adult male taken to London had been kept in transit for a while in Barrackpore Park prior to shipment (letter by Arthur Grote to ZSL, 1864-03-11).

Kolkata (*Calcutta*) – *Maharaja Buddynath Roy*

References to a rhino in a menagerie in either Chitpore or Cossipore in the first half of the 19th century both appear to indicate the mansion of Raja Buddynath (Baidya) Roy (d. 1860), third son of Maharaja Sukhmoy Roy (Chatterji 1929: 18). When passing through Chitpoor on 1 March 1824, Bishop Reginald Heber mentions that Baboo Budinâth Roy "has a menagerie of animals and birds only inferior to that of Barrackpoor" (Heber 1828, vol. 1: 90). The Zoological Society of London elected both the Raja and his son Cowar Roy Rajkissen on 16 March 1855 as members in recognition of their interest in zoology shown by maintaining a large menagerie (Chatterji 1929: 61).

*1. M 1829 (to U.S.A.: Flatfoots)

1829. The French naturalist Christoph-Augustin Lamare-Picquot (1785–1873), who shot two rhinos in the Sundarbans in 1829, stated that he had seen a living rhino many times at the house of the Nabab of Chittepour (Lamare-Picquot 1835: 61). Although he did not name the Nabab nor provided exact dates, the year 1829 and the menagerie of Raja Buddynath Roy are most likely.

1830. The first rhino to be exhibited in an American circus was a male arriving in Boston, Mass. on 9 May 1830 on the ship *Mary* (Reynolds 1968: 10; Thayer 1975; Rookmaaker 1998: 107). Advertised as the "Greatest Natural Living Curiosity Ever Exhibited in America", at first the animal was said to have been purchased in January 1830 from a "Rajah, or native prince of Calcutta" (eg. *Phenix Gazette* 1830-12-28), later changed in the media to a "Rajah of Benares" (eg. Anon. 1830: 620). It would have been captured near the Himalayan mountains in May 1829 aged 3 months.

In an archive associated with the businessman Marmaduke Burrough (1797–1844), who served as the American Consul in Kolkata 1828–1830 (William L. Clements Library, Ann Arbor, Michigan), there are two letters referring to this animal (38.13). Apparently Burrough had approached Buddynath Roy about the rhino, as seen from Roy's reply dated Calcutta 9 September 1829 that the animal would cost Rs 9500 only if a lion and lioness were bought at the same time. Sam W. Archer, one of Burrough's friends in Kolkata, wrote on 16 January 1830 that the rhino had been purchased by another party for Rs 7000 and was to be shipped on the *Mary* to America. When it arrived in Boston, ownership was claimed by the Flatfoots Association, a consortium of circus entrepreneurs, and first assigned to the menagerie of June, Titus and Angevin. This rhino died in April 1835.

Having missed his chance to obtain this rhino, Burrough came into contact with Alexander Davidson, the Magistrate of Goalpara in Assam, probably when he visited the area. Davidson sent 2 rhinos to Kolkata, one direct to Burrough in March 1830 which was taken to Philadelphia arriving on 15 October 1830 (the second rhino in America) and another to a friend in December 1830 arriving in Boston on 10 May 1831 (the third rhino in America) (38.13, fig. 38.5).

2. 1837

Lady Honoria Marshall Lawrence (1808–1854) saw a pet rhino in the house of a Raja near Cossipore (Lawrence 1980: 45; Nair 1989: 613). Cossipore is adjacent to Chitpore, hence she might have meant the house of Raja Buddynath Roy.

Kolkata (*Calcutta*) – *Indian Rajah in Alipore*

1. 1858-05

The Swedish painter Egron Sellif Lundgren (1815–1875) visited a Rajah in Alipore, who had a menagerie showing a rhino with one horn (Lundgren 1872: 77).

Kolkata (*Calcutta*) – *Mansion 'Seven Tanks' in Cossipore*

Seven Tanks or Satpukur, now the Cossipore Club, is a mansion once owned by Ruplal Mullick and then by his son Sham Charan (or Shyamacharan) Mullick, the brother in law of Raja Rajendra Mullick.

1. 1858 or 1859 to 1870s

A rhino was seen at Seven Tanks during a visit by the pseudonymous Cadwalladar Cummerbund in the late 1850s (Cummerbund 1860: 164). On an unknown date (in the 1870s?), when Seven Tanks was owned by Shyamacharan Mullick, Swami Akhandananda (1858–1937) visited and saw a rhino in the garden next to a small pool (Akhandananda 1979).

Kolkata (*Calcutta*) – *Burdwan* (*Bardhaman*)

Maharaja Mahatab Chand Bahadur (1820–1879) had a residence in Burdwan, about 100 km NW of Kolkata, where there is now still a small zoological garden.

1. 1859 to 1861 †

Charles Buckland of the Bengal Civil Service had written (date unclear) to his cousin, Francis Trevelyan Buckland (1826–1880) about the Rajah in Burdwan "who keeps a really good menagerie. He has two rhinoceroses, who live in a large walled enclosure, in the centre of which is a reservoir of water" (F. Buckland 1861: 227, first printing of 27 June 1860; Hobhouse 1916: 203). In a "new edition" of the *Curiosities of Natural History* published in 1861, Buckland

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(1861: 354) added in an addendum (therefore dating from the period after June 1860) that one of the rhinos had died.

2. 1859, 1863

The second rhino mentioned by Buckland (previous entry). On 21 February 1863, Russell Jeffrey (1807–1867), visiting missionary in Burdwan, saw one rhino (Jeffrey 1863: 114).

Kolkata (*Calcutta*) – *Raja Rajendra Mullick*

Raja Rajendra Mullick (1819–1887), also spelled Mallick or Mallik, built the Marble Palace in Muktaram Babu Street, Joresanko, adjacent to Chitpur road, completed in 1840. From 1854 onwards he kept animals in the gardens. The records of rhinos could refer to other houses owned by the Mullick family (see Seven Tanks), but the accession of a skull in July 1871 was donated by "Rai Rajendro Mullick, Bahadoor" (Indian Museum 1872).

*1. F 1867

There is a skull and mounted hide of an adult female *R. unicornis* in the Staatliche Museum für Naturkunde Stuttgart (no. 1218) obtained in 1867. The label states that it came from the Menagerie of Babu [illegible] Mullik, Calcutta (Rookmaaker 1998: 57). The museum bought the specimen from the taxidermy firm run by Edward Gerrard Jr. (1832–1927) in London. Although it must be one of their earlier transactions, Gerrard may have had an agent in Kolkata at the time, because other rhino specimens from India were registered at the Natural History Museum in London in 1870 (*R. unicornis*) and 1876 (*R. sondaicus*).

*2. F 1871

In the catalogue of the Indian Museum, William Sclater (1891: 202, no. l) listed a skull of *R. unicornis* from "Rajah R. Mullick, 1871." The accession was noted in July 1871 as a skull of *R. sondaicus* (Indian Museum 1872), which is presumably a wrong identification. The skull is now no. 19240 and still on display in the museum (Groves & Chakraborty 1983: 254).

Kolkata (*Calcutta*) – *Zoological Gardens, Alipore*

The Zoological Gardens in the suburbs of Alipore were inaugurated on 1 January 1876 by King Edward VII, then Prince of Wales. A rhino pit or enclosure was constructed but still empty later that year (B. 1876: 452). Besides the 10 specimens of *R. unicornis* listed here (2 on temporary exhibit in transit), there were also 3 *R. sondaicus* and 5 *D. sumatrensis*.

*1. F 1877-04-07 to 1880-05 † (from Dumraon)

Female rhino presented by Maharaja Maheshwar Bakhsh Singh (1803–1881), 9th Maharaja of Dumraon, Bihar (ruled 1844–1881). In the care of dealer William Rutledge, she walked from Dumraon to Kolkata. Died of tetanus (*Times of India* 1877-04-12; Sanyal 1892: 131; C. Buckland 1890a: 230).

*2. F 1887-12 (from Kolkata: Wajid Ali)

A female rhino was bought at the auction of the collection of Wajid Ali Shah (1822–1887), the exiled King of Oudh, in December 1887. The length of stay in the Zoo is not clear (6.12).

*3. F 1905-02 to 1932-01 †

Female rhino, donated by the Government of Nepal. She was transported from Raxaul to Kolkata by railway with the assistance of Charles Withers Ravenshaw (1851–1935), Resident to Nepal (Sanyal 1905). She was the mother of the calf born in the Zoo in 1925. The American naturalist Charles William Beebe (1877–1962) wrote a report of a visit to the zoo probably in early 1910, as the journal was issued in September (Beebe 1910). He took a photograph of the rhino enclosure measuring 2 acres and mentioned a pair of rhinos (nos. 3, 4) (fig. 5.33).

*4. M 1909-12-09 to 1930-06 †

Male, purchased together with another male (no. 5) for Rs. 15,000 from Nepal. The arrival in December 1910 mentioned by the Superintendent Bijay Krishna Basu (1910) is an error, which is confirmed by a notice of the addition of a pair of rhinos in the *Englishman's Overland Mail* (1909-12-09). Nuttall (1917: 632) published a photograph of one of the *R. unicornis* in the Calcutta Zoo (fig. 5.34). Fisher (1912) saw a (one?) "big one-horned rhinoceros" from Nepal.

5. M 1909-12-09 to (death unknown)

Male rhino purchased with previous male from Nepal (Basu 1910). This is not the animal sent to London Zoo in April 1912 (no. 6) because the arrival of that animal was recorded separately. Therefore it probably died soon, and remained unrecorded in the annual reports of the zoo.

*6. M 1912-01-25 to 1912-04-01 (Exported to London Zoo, UK)

Male rhino donated by Maharaja Chandra Shumsher of Nepal to King George V on 24 December 1911 (25.3). He lived in Alipore Zoo from 25 January to 31 March 1912, shipped on 1 April 1912 on the *ss Afghanistan*, reaching London on 21 May. He died in London Zoo on 27 April 1927.

*7. M 1925-10-09 (Birth)

Male rhino born dead, to the female of 1905 (no. 3) and male of 1909 (no. 4) (Ali 1927b).

*8. M 1932-03 to 1970-08-30 †

Male rhino donated by Marie Adelaide Freeman-Thomas, Marchioness of Willingdon (1875–1960), probably captured in Nepal with no. 9.

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FIGURE 5.33
Enclosure for the rhinoceros, photographed by Charles William Beebe (1877–1962) on a visit to the Alipore Zoo in 1910. Two rhinos are visible
BEEBE, *NEW YORK ZOOLOGICAL SOCIETY BULLETIN*, SEPTEMBER 1910, P. 693

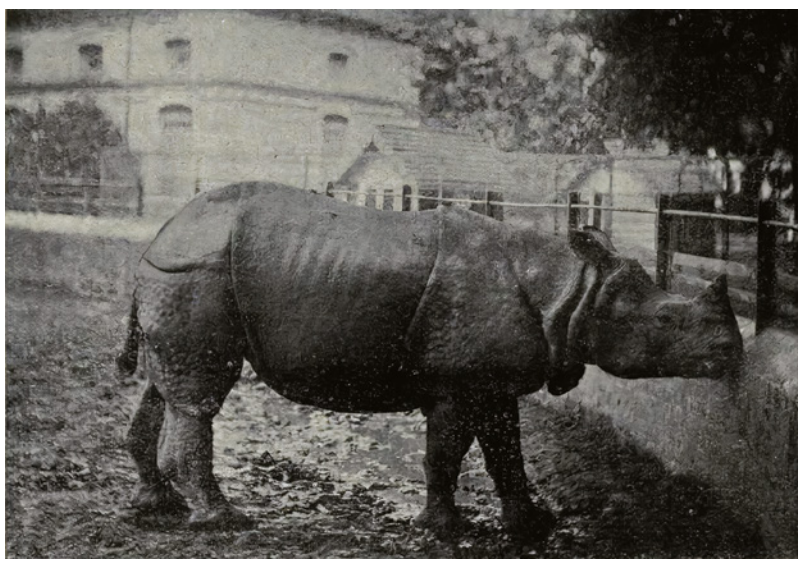

FIGURE 5.34
"Indian rhinoceros, Zoological Gardens, Calcutta." One of three specimens from Nepal in Alipore Zoo 1909–1911
W.M. NUTTALL IN PLAYNE, *BENGAL AND ASSAM, BEHAR AND ORISSA*, 1917, P. 632

*9. F 1932-10 to 1965-12-10 †
Female rhino donated by the Governor-General Freeman Freeman-Thomas, first Marquess of Willingdon (1866–1944), captured in Nepal during a visit of his son Lord Ratendone (24.25).
*10. M 1938 to 1939-06 (Exported to Washington DC, USA)
Male rhino captured in Kaziranga, temporarily exhibited until transfer to Washington DC, where it lived in the National Zoological Gardens 1939-05-26 to 1959-01-09 known as 'Gunda' (Rookmaaker 1989: 112).

Kolkata (*Calcutta*) – *William Rutledge* (*Dealer*)

William Rutledge (1832–1905) was a dealer in birds and wild animals at Entally in Kolkata (48.2).
1. around 1875
In a collection of watercolours and photographs related to the work of T.C. Jerdon offered for sale at the Arader Galleries in 2018 (48.2), there are photographs signed by Captain William George Stretton (1836–1899). Because Stretton first appeared in Kolkata references in 1875, these items are unlikely to be earlier. There are three photographs of *R. unicornis*. One shows a young adult animal with a chain around the neck attached to a tree trunk, with the head facing a man in a suit with a topi, probably William Rutledge, signed by Stretton with the number 26/8 (fig. 5.35). The other two photographs are identical and pasted to a single sheet, both showing a *R. unicornis* from behind, with on the left the same person holding a (measuring) stick, one of which is signed Stretton 70/2 (fig. 5.36). Probably these photographs were all taken at the same time in the compound of Rutledge in Entally.

Kolkata (*Calcutta*) – *King Wajid Ali Shah of Oudh*

*1. F [unknown date] to 1887-12 (to Kolkata, Alipore Zoo)
While King Wajid Ali Shah of Oudh (1882–1887) was living in Garden Reach, Metiabruz during his exile after 1856,

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FIGURE 5.35 Young adult *R. unicornis* photographed by Captain William George Stretton (with number 26/8), probably at the premises of William Rutledge at Entally, Calcutta, in 1875 or afterwards. Size 14 × 10 cm. From a miscellaneous collection associated with T.C. Jerdon offered for sale by the Arader Galleries in 2018
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FIGURE 5.36 Photograph of a young adult *R. unicornis* by William G. Stretton (with number 70/2), probably at the premises of William Rutledge at Entally, Calcutta. Size 14 × 10 cm. From a collection sold in 2018 as fig. 5.35
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he had maintained a menagerie. When the animals were auctioned after his death, one female *R. unicornis* was obtained by the Zoological Gardens in Alipore (6.13).

***Kolkata* (*Calcutta*) – *William Jamrach* (*Dealer*)**

Rhino exports 1855–1875 (table 5.13). These animals are not included in the totals as they did not stay long in India before shipment.

The animal dealership headed by Johann Christian Carl (Charles) Jamrach (1815–1891) based in London was responsible for the importation of many rhinos in Europe and America from the time of its establishment in 1840 (fig. 5.37). His son William Jamrach (1843–1891) often traveled to India to oversee operations, but there is no indication that he actually maintained an office. In Kolkata he probably worked together with William Rutledge who was established in Entally near the centre of the town. In Europe, Jamrach was associated with Carl Hagenbeck (1844–1913) based in Hamburg, Germany (in Sankt Pauli, first at the Spielbudenplatz and after 1874 at Neuer Pferdemarkt), and with Charles William Rice (1841–1879) based both in Hamburg and London (Rookmaaker 2014b).

In 1875, the German artist Heinrich Leutemann (1875) published a candid interview with William Jamrach, which can be summarized here. At that time Jamrach recognized that most larger zoological gardens in Europe had been supplied with at least one rhino resulting in reduced demand. Jamrach had already made twenty journeys to India, and probably would have added another twenty, as long as prospective owners were willing to pay a higher

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FIGURE 5.37 "The Prince's menagerie on board the Serapis", giving a view of animal transports in the 19th century *ILLUSTRATED LONDON NEWS*, SATURDAY 13 MAY 1876, P. 61

price. There were many hurdles to be negotiated, starting with the capture of the young animal, usually preceded by the death of the mother. Most of these animals were caught above the Ganges (meaning Bengal and Assam) and had to be brought to Kolkata, which was usually accomplished on foot, taking many months on the road, traveling by night and resting by day. Most of the young animals could be herded easily like sheep, but larger animals added much risk to the operation and several of these were lost on the onward sea voyage, which affected profits. The pair destined for Berlin in 1872, being some two years old and therefore getting too large, had to leave Kolkata in the rainy season. The ship could not approach the shore, hence Jamrach made a boat-bridge using 46 vessels strung together, anchored to the ground, and a walkway of planks 6 feet wide – it took only 3 minutes for the animals to walk from the shore to the ship. On other occasions, heavy weather or sickness resulted in the loss of the rhinos during the long voyage.

Despite these problems, Jamrach was quite successful in bringing the rhinos to Europe and America. He must have had agents in the field who are never identified by name. He also advertised in local newspapers, like in the *Pioneer* issued in Allahabad (1875-02-18 and 1876-01-08) for the purchase of tigers, elephants and rhinos, in those cases using a hotel in Calcutta as address to reply.

Kora Jahanabad, Uttar Pradesh – Unknown Locality

*1. 1665-12-02

The French diamond merchant Jean Baptiste Tavernier (1605–1689) encountered a rhino when he was traveling from Agra to Patna, close to Gianabad, now Kora Jahanabad, on 2 December 1665 (18.7).

Lucknow, Uttar Pradesh – Menagerie of Nawabs of Oudh

The reports of 19 rhinos kept by the Nawabs of Oudh are explored in chapter 6, summarized as follows (see

TABLE 5.13 List of specimens of *R. unicornis* exported by the animal dealer Jamrach from India 1850–1899

Sex	Arrival	Death	Disposal: town and facility
M	1855-06		Unknown: Auction Liverpool
F	1855-06		Unknown: Auction Liverpool
F	1856-05-24	1894-10-23	Vienna Schönbrunner Tiergarten
	1858-08-09		London, Jamrach
	1867	1867	Skulls of 2 animals died in transit
	1867	1867	Skulls of 2 animals died in transit
F	1871-09-21	1872-09-19	destination unknown
F	1872-09-19	1896-04-09	Berlin, Zoologischer Garten
M	1872-09-19	1909-10-26	Berlin, Zoologischer Garten
F	1872-04-26	1900-10-25	Cologne, Zoological Gardens
F	1875	1875	London, Rice (dealer)

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tables 6.11, 6.12). Larger numbers were simultaneously recorded in 1819 (7 rhinos), 1824 (6 rhinos) and 1841 (12 rhinos). The total of 15 to 20 rhinos in the 1830s mentioned by Knighton (1855) is excluded because it is potentially inflated or fictitious.

1760–1765 Lucknow: Nawab (nd)
1769 Lucknow: Nawab (nd)
1789 Lucknow: Nawab 1802
1790 Exported from Laknaor to London (export)
*1814 Lucknow: Nawab < 1856
*1814 Lucknow: Nawab < 1856
*1814 Lucknow: Nawab < 1856
1819 Lucknow: Nawab 1824
1819 Lucknow: Nawab 1835
*1819 Lucknow: Nawab < 1856
1819 Lucknow: Nawab < 1856
1841 Lucknow: Nawab < 1856
1841 Lucknow: Nawab < 1856
1841 Lucknow: Nawab < 1856
1841 Lucknow: Nawab < 1856
1841 Lucknow: Nawab < 1856
*1841 Lucknow: Nawab 1856 Kolkata: Barrackpore Park (Blyth) 1862
*1841 Lucknow: Nawab 1856 Kolkata: Barrackpore Park (Blyth) 1860
*1852 Allahabad: Rundheer Singh 1852 Lucknow: Nawab 1858.

Lucknow, Uttar Pradesh – Nawab Wazid Ali Shah Zoo

*1. F 1944-02-02 to 1973-04-02 †
From Nepal, named Roxy (Rookmaaker 1998: 90).

Manipur – Emperor Meidingu

1. 1720
The *Ningthaurol* or Royal Chronicles of Manipur record that the Emperor Meidingu Pamheiba (1690–1751) was presented with a rhino caught by Tarao Palli Nagas, a tribe from the Chandel district in S.E. Manipur (Hodson 1912).

Mathura, Uttar Pradesh – Seth Lakhmi Chand

1. 1851-03-08
The merchant Zyn-ool-Addeen had brought a rhino to Agra to be sold to Seth Lakhmi Chand (d. 1866), a millionaire banker in Mathura, and the animal broke loose (*Agra Messenger* 1851-03-08).

Mayong, Assam – Local King

1. 1925 (assumed)
Local people in Mayong (Mayang) near Pabitora Wildlife Sanctuary recollect that during the tenure of "King Rohan Singha", a rhino calf was brought to the palace as a pet, but died from diarrhea after a few months (Talukdar 2000; Talukdar & Barua 2006). The sources are silent about the year, but according to a genealogy of 48 generations of Mayong kings, the fifth previous to the current incumbent was Bakat Singha Rahan, which might point to a date around 1925.

Meghalaya – Charles Richard Cock

1. 1864-03-19
Charles Richard Cock (1838–1879) shot a female rhino at Tickri-killa (Tikrikilla) and captured the young one (37.7). Cock (1865) sold the animal but the destination is unclear.

Mumbai (Bombay), Maharashtra – Aga Khan

1. 1868 (Exported, died in transit)
Aga Khan, Hasan Ali Shah (1804–1881) sent a rhino to Nasir al-Din Shah (1831–1896), King of Persia (Daftary 1990: 513). It is probably the same animal which reportedly drowned in the harbour when it was being loaded on British India Navigation Company's steamer *Java* (*Times of India* 1885-03-17).

Mumbai (Bombay), Maharashtra – Victoria Gardens

1. F 1922-01-10 to 1922-03-02 (Exported to London Zoo, UK)
Female rhino called Bessie donated by Maharaja Chandra Shumsher of Nepal to Edward, Prince of Wales during his visit on 18 December 1921. She was kept in Victoria Gardens from 10 January to 2 March 1922, leaving on the *ss. Perim* and arriving London 7 April 1922, where she lived in the Zoo to 28 April 1926 (25.4).

Murshidabad, West Bengal – Nawab of Bengal

1. 1716 (from Kolkata: Chandernagor)
Heading the Mughal administration of Bengal, the first Nawab was appointed in 1717 and Murshid Quli Khan (1660–1727) held the post until his death. The rhino kept at the French factory at Chandernagor just north of Kolkata was a diplomatic present to the Nawab, possibly as early as 1716. There are no data where the animal was kept or how long it survived.
2. 1757 to early 1770s
1757-05. A young rhino (the height of a donkey) was captured near Sakrigali in the Rajmahal Hills. It was seen by the French traveller Abraham Hyacinthe Anquetil-Duperron (1731–1805) in the first weeks of May 1757 (29.3). He was told that the animal was transported to the Nabab of Bengal, tied with ropes and guarded by 50 men (Anquetil-Duperron 1771: lii–liii).

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Period around 1770. The account by the American traveler Bartholomew Burges (1740–1807) of his stay in India probably dates from the late 1760s. When he was at Muxadabag (Murshidabad), he saw a fight between elephants owned by the Nabob, likely Saif ud-Daulah (ruled 1766–1770). He also witnessed fights "of elephants, rhinoceroses, tygers, and wild buffaloes" (Burges 1790: 60), which could be the same occasion described in another part of his book: "a rhinoceros, and an elephant prepared for battle, were brought forth, who on the sight of each other, instantly approaching, begun with the utmost fury to engage. Provoked with his situation, he gave three sudden successive roars, followed by a violent jerk of his whole body backwards, which bringing the rhinoceros in front, with an incredible rapid pull of one of his teeth, he maimed him to such a degree, that unable to continue longer the fight, he turned tail and marched off and left him master of the field, amidst the shouts and acclamations of the crowd" (Burges 1790: 69).

Patna, Bihar – Mr. Young

*1. Period 1750–1780

Mr. Young of Patna (not identified) had a rhino which "occasionally walks the street" (Williamson 1807a: 45; 1807b, vol. 1: 168).

Patna, Bihar – English Factory

1. M 1738 (to London, where died *c.*1742–1744)

Procured by Humphrey Cole, the Chief of the English Factory in Patna, this 2-year old male rhino left Kolkata on 31 July 1738 and arrived in London on 2 June 1739. It was first exhibited in Eagle Street near Red Lion Square, where it was studied and drawn by the physician James Parsons. A detailed scientific description published in the *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London* in 1743, accompanied by two engraved plates (fig. 5.38), became the standard view of the rhinoceros for most of the 18th century (Parsons 1743). This animal might have been the one sketched by William Twiddy in Norwich in June 1744, but records after 1742 are unknown and maybe he died in that period. The history is further explored in 28.10.

2. 1763 (to London, probably died in transit)

Henry Vansittart (1732–1770), Governor of Bengal 1759–1764 obtained a rhino in Patna, Bihar in 1763 (28.11). It was forwarded to Kolkata and should have been shipped on the *Drake* in August 1763 as a gift to King George III, but there is no mention that it arrived in London.

Pune (Poona), Maharashtra – Menagerie of the Peshwa

*1. M 1790 to 1792

The menagerie of Peshwa Madhav Rao II (1774–1795) at the foot of Parvati Hill had a rhino donated (date unknown) by Mahadaji Scindia (1730–1794), the ruler of Gwalior 1768–1794. This male rhino was recorded five times between 1790 and 1792. There is no mention of the rhino after 1792.

1790-06-03. Edward Moor (1771–1848), officer of the East India Co., went to visit the Peshwa's menagerie, where he saw a rhino which was "a present from Scindia" (Moor 1794: 366; Parasnis 1921). He mentioned that clay models of all the animals were made at the request of the British Resident in the court of the Peshwa Mahrattas, Sir Charles Warre Malet (1753–1815).

1790–11. A watercolour drawing of the rhino was made in November 1790 by the Indian artist Gangaram Chintaman Tambat (Shaffer 2011: 7, 35; Hobhouse 1986, no. 8; Kincaid 1908: 88; Rookmaaker 1997b; Sardesai 1936: 223; Gode 1945; A. Das 2018b: 90). This representation was commissioned by C.W. Malet and remained in the family until it was offered for sale by Hobhouse in London in 1986. Malet added the following details, including some measurements, in his handwriting on the drawing: "This Drawing and Wax figure of a Rhinoceros belonging to Mudarao Narrian Peshwa was taken from the Life with great fidelity at Poona in November 1790 by Gangaram Chintaman Tambat, the Age of the Rhinoceros was supposed to be about 25 years of the following Dimensions viz. from the Outside of the Tail to the foremost wrinkle of the Neck ft 8 7 ½ ins [262.8 cm]. From the said wrinkle to the Top of the Nose ft 2 3 ½ [69.9 cm]. From the forefoot to the Shoulder Height ft. 5 11 [180 cm]. From the Hind foot to the Top of the Rump ft. 6. 3 [190.5 cm]. From the Root of the Horn nearest the nose to the point 1 [30.5 cm]. It was said by the Keepers that the Horn would grow. Poona 28 Oct. 1790. C.W.M. – This Animal is Retromingent but the genital parts when activated by concupiscence are projected as in the accompanying drawing in which the urinal line is also described. The colour of the animal is excellently conveyed in the wax Figure" (fig. 5.39).

1791-12-16. C.W. Malet wrote to the Governor-General Charles Cornwallis (1738–1805) that the Peshwa wished to reciprocate some donations and intended to send gifts including an elephant, a rhino, a horse, and some antelopes. He asks if it is best to send these by ship to Bombay (Sardesai 1936: 223).

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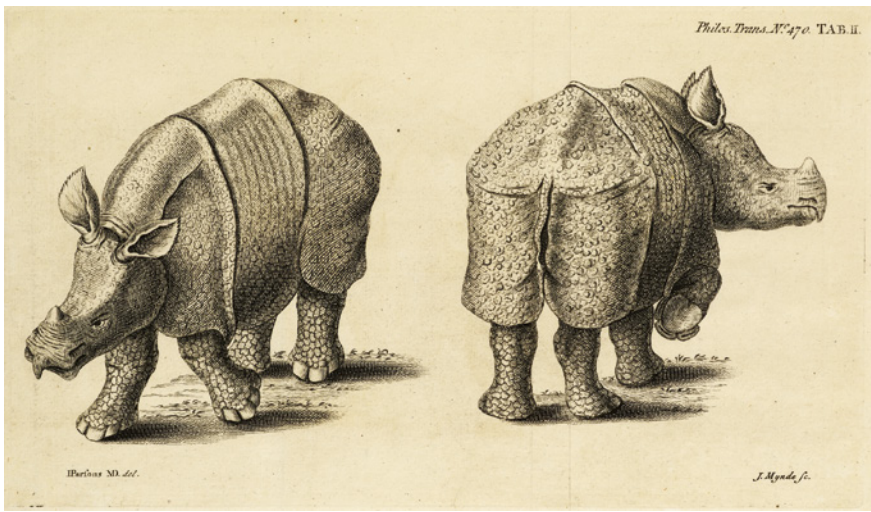

FIGURE 5.38
Two views of the young male rhino sent from Patna in 1738 and studied by James Parsons (1705–1770) in London in 1739
PARSONS, *PHILOSOPHICAL TRANSACTIONS OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF LONDON*, 1743, PL. 2. COURTESY: JIM MONSON

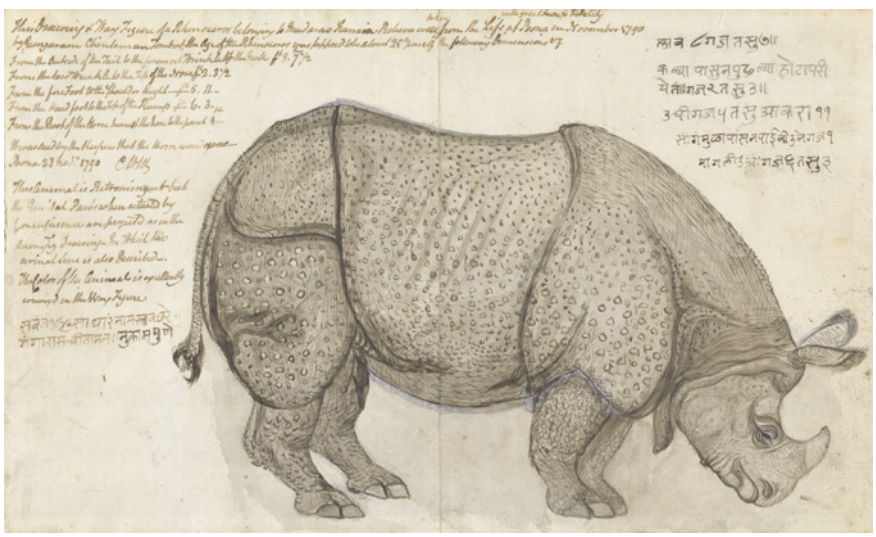

FIGURE 5.39
Gangaram Chintaman Tambat, A rhinoceros in the Menagerie of Peshwa Madhav Rao II (1774–1795) at Poona, November 1790. Watercolour and gouache, 12 × 36 cm
WITH PERMISSION © YALE CENTER FOR BRITISH ART, NEW HAVEN, CONN.: NO. B2006.14.33

1792-05-18. When David Price (1762–1835) lived in Poona, he went to the Peshwa's menagerie at the bottom of Pahrbutty Hill where he saw "the finest and most perfect model of a rhinoceros, that I have ever seen, either before or since. For, unlike the shapeless monster that we usually see exhibited, with his body enveloped in loose and flaccid folds of indurated hide, this stupendous animal was filled out to its utmost proportions" (Price 1836: 317). The keeper was able to get the animal to stand on its hind legs.

No date. Augustus Kincaid (1870–1954) was walking near Parvati Hill where he saw a grave of the Peshwa's rhino keeper who "one day ended his career with its horn through his body" (Kincaid 1908: 88).

Surat, Gujarat – See Ahmedabad, Gujarat, 1514

Trivandrum, Kerala – Zoological Gardens

*1. 1878-03 to 1900-06-16 †

Rhino exhibited (Rookmaaker 1998: 104). It was obtained in exchange from a native prince (Pettigrew 1882: 276).

Udaipur, Rajasthan – City Palace of the Maharanas

Rhinos in chains or otherwise in an obviously captive setting are depicted in art work of the successive Maharanas ruling in the first half of the 18th century. There must have been at least three rhinos, probably several more, which have here been combined conservatively as 2 specimens in the period prior to 1734 and 1 specimen in the period 1734 to 1751. A fourth and fifth rhino were painted in the 19th century.

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1–2. Period 1698–1734

Period 1698–1710. A court painting on cloth shows animal fights in front of the palace of Maharana Amar Singh II (1672–1710) of Mewar, which include 2 rhinos (fig. 15.40).

Period 1710–1734. These animals could still be alive in the time of Maharana Sangram Singh II (ruled 1710–1734), when rhinos were kept at the palace (information from Bhupendra Singh Auwa, The City Palace, Udaipur).

3. Period 1734–1751

A painting shows Maharana Jagat Singh II of Mewar (ruled 1734–1751) hunting a rhino (fig. 15.48). The chains around the front feet indicate captivity. The inscription names the animal 'Fateh-Chand.'

4. Period 1790–1825

Period 1790–1810. A wall painting in the Chitram-ki-Burj in Udaipur shows a rhino in a staged fight with a large-eared (African?) elephant (fig. 15.41). The rhino has a belt around the neck and a rider on the back controls it with ropes.

1795. A Jain invitation letter, "vijñaptipatra" dated in the last two lines at the end of the scroll to May–June 1795 shows a tame rhino (fig. 15.49).

Period 1820s. A drawing by a Kota artist depicts a rhino kept at the entrance of the palace in Udaipur (fig. 15.50a, 15.50b).

5. Period 1861–1874

A mural made during the reign of Maharana Shambhu Singh in the Karjali Haveli of Udaipur shows a rhino with a rider fighting a stag (chapter 15).

Udaipur, Rajasthan – Zoological Gardens

Hughes (2013: 88) suggests that possibly Maharana Fateh Singh (1849–1930) acquired a rhino for the Zoological Gardens at Samore Bagh in Udaipur which had opened in 1897. Although early accessions included tigers, bears and lions from Gujarat, there is no evidence of a rhino at that time.

*1. F 1941 to 1946 (to Jaipur)

The female rhino was 3 years old on arrival. From Nepal (see next entry). Transferred to Jaipur Zoo (Rookmaaker 1998: 105).

2. M 1941

At the time of Maharana Bhupal Singh (ruled 1930–1955), a pair of rhino came from Nepal and were lodged at Samore Bagh (Bhupendra Singh Auwa, The City Palace, Udaipur, information 2018).

Una, Himachal Pradesh – Baba Bikram Singh Bedi

1. F 1840 to 1857

Baba Bikram Singh Bedi (d.1862) killed his brother Attar Singh on 25 November 1839. To atone for his crime, he washed his hands daily in the excrement of a rhinoceros (*Allen's Indian Mail* 1862-10-27). The animal was kept on his estates in Una (Oonah), east of Hoshiarpur, now in Himachal Pradesh. This female rhino was said to be ten years old in 1849, and was bought when it was one year old for Rs. 2500 (*Delhi Gazette* 1849: 56). The 59th Regiment of Bengal Native Infantry invaded Oonah in 1857. They confiscated the rhino of Bikram Singh. The animal was tame enough to be guided by a twig but got angry when this was applied too smartly (Girdlestone 1864: 170).

Vadodara (Baroda), Gujarat

The history of the rhinos kept in Baroda (Vadodara) is found in chapter 7. Between 1810 and 1886, at least 5 rhinos were kept by the Maharajas of Baroda, summarized as follows:

1810 Vadodara Guikwar 1822
*1823 Vadodara Guikwar 1856–1865
*1848–1856 Vadodara Guikwar < 1885
*1856–1866 Vadodara Guikwar < 1885
1865–1866 Vadodara Guikwar (death unknown).

Varanasi, Bihar – Maharaja of Banaras

There is no evidence that the Maharajas of Benares kept a rhino. The report circulated about the male rhino which arrived in Boston, Mass. on 9 May 1830 being kept previously by the "Rajah of Benares" in the media (like *Pittsburgh Weekly Gazette* 1830-05-28) is a mistake for a Rajah of Calcutta (Buddynath Roy) as found in other reports.

The French author Louis Jacolliot (1837–1890) visited India (38.12). His report of two rhinos kept by a Maharaja "below Benares", possibly in the 1860s or 1870s, may well be fictitious (Jacolliot 1875: 120).

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CHAPTER 6

Records of the Rhinoceros in Captivity in Independent Oudh

6.1 Captive rhinos in Oudh – Lucknow

An abundance of rhinos was kept in captivity in Lucknow, at least from 1775 when the Nawabs of Oudh (Oude, Awadh, Avadh) started to develop the town as their capital, until 1856 when the state was annexed by British forces. Reports allude even to a dozen rhinos seen simultaneously, and suggest that they might have been breeding (table 6.14). There are sadly no accounts or statistics which might help to identify individual specimens, no dates of arrivals, births or deaths. A very tentative list indicates the presence of 19 rhinos consecutively in Faizabad in the 1760s, in Lucknow from 1775 to 1856, and a further 2 in Kolkata during the exile of the last Nawab (table 6.15).

There is little to explain the definite fascination of the Nawabs with the rhinoceros. Of course they also kept quite large numbers of elephants, as well as tigers, cheetahs and other animals. Rhinos were found in the northern parts of the Oudh territory in the Lakhimpur and Bahraich regions. In the 18th century, the Nawabs enjoyed going on hunting expeditions, as seen in the sketches made for Jean-Baptiste Gentil (18.8). These were set up on an almost unimaginably large scale, with thousands of people in attendance, as narrated in 1793 by Captain Lewis Ferdinand Smith regarding a trip to Buckra Jeel (Bakhira Taal) near Gorakhpur: "Our party consisted of about 40,000 men, and 20,000 beasts, composed of 10,000 soldiers, 1000 cavalry, and near 150 pieces of cannon, 1500 elephants, 3000 carts or hackeries, and an innumerable train of camels, horses and bullocks. Carriages for women drawn by oxen. Also tigers, leopards, hawks, fighting cocks, fighting quails, and nightingales; pigeons, dancing women and boys, singers, players, buffoons, and mountebanks" (Smith 1806: 15). Rhinos had been expected but none were seen at this particular time, warned off by the noise and commotion.

It is rarely specified where rhinos were encountered in the town of Lucknow. There were stables, or enclosures, on the left (north) shore of the Gomti River in fields referred to as the Hazari Bagh (Hilton 1891: 122). So far no depictions or photographs are known showing the fields and stables where the rhinos could have been housed. The Hazari Bagh was connected with the town on the opposite shore by a ferry or pontoon bridge, and could be seen from the upper rooms in the Moti Mahal and from the 1810s from the verandah of the Shah Manzil constructed by Ghazi-ud-din (figs. 6.1, 6.2, 6.3). This viewing became popular in the time of Ghazi-ud-din after he initiated the performance of rhinos, elephants, tigers, bears and other animals in mutual fights (Walker 1865: 84; Alli 1874: 19; Fayrer 1900; Sharar 1975). Although many important visitors mentioned the presence of rhinos in Lucknow, their exhibition or mortal combats remained beyond the scope of artists, even though the Nawabs of Oudh were interested in art and poetry (Markel & Gude 2010; Llewellyn-Jones 2016). Much remains to be discovered about the Nawabs of Oudh and their passion for the rhinoceros.

FIGURE 6.1
A view of the Moti Mahal across the Gomti River in 1826. Part of an elongated diorama of Lucknow by an unknown artist. Watercolour and gouache, with gold; sheet 31 × 610 cm. Described when exhibited in Los Angeles and Paris by Markel & Gude 2010: 86, no. 56D
YALE CENTER FOR BRITISH ART, AVAILABLE DIGITALLY UNDER ORBIS:11747015

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FIGURE 6.2
View of the Hazari Bagh on the left shore of the Gomti River where rhinos were kept in the fields opposite the Moti Mahal and the Shah Manzil in Lucknow. The river was bridged by a series of pontoons connected by wooden planks. This photograph was taken by Felice Beato (1832–1909), who visited Lucknow in 1858 (further information in Bautze 2007). The building in the background is "The Martiniere" constructed in 1793 in a European architectural style by the French Major-General Claude Martin (1735–1800) as his own residence. Silver albumen print 22,5 × 31,0 cm
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FIGURE 6.3 Map of Lucknow, entrenched position of the British garrison, engraved by Francis Sidney Weller (1849–1910). It shows the position of the Moti Manzil and Hazuri Bagh on the River Gomti
MURRAY, *A HANDBOOK FOR TRAVELLERS IN INDIA, BURMA, AND CEYLON*, 1894, P. 232

• • •

Dataset 6.2: Chronological List of Events Indicating Rhinos in Captivity in Lucknow until the End of the 19th Century

Sequence: Date – Event – Reference – Specimen number according to table 6.15.

A. Period of Nawab Shuja-ud-Daula (1732–1775), Reigned 1759–1775

1760–1765 – Captive rhino guided by 4 men, as part of a larger painting of Nawab Shuja-ud-Daula on a lion hunt, probably dated early 1760s. The painter Mir Kalan Khan worked in Lucknow. Painting oil on canvas, 72 × 84.5 cm. Clive Collection, Powis Castle, Powys, Wales. National Trust NTPL Ref. No. 184225 – Losty 2002: 50, fig. 14; Markel & Gude 2010: 2, no. 162; McInerney 2011: 618, fig. 12 – 6.2, figs. 6.5, 6.6 – specimen 1.

1769 – 1 rhino captured. Jean-Baptiste-Joseph Gentil (1726–1799) sketched hunting scenes including a captured rhino surrounded by 7 men – Gentil, Atlas in Victoria & Albert Museum, London (Atlas 1825), p. 12 (scene 8) – 6.2, 18.8, fig. 18.4 – specimen 2.

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B. Period of Nawab Asaf-ud-Daula (1748–1797), Reigned 1775–1797

1789 – Depiction of adult rhino with a chain and rope around the neck, once with inscription dated 1789 – Watercolour, anonymous (3 copies): (1) British Library, Wellesley Collection, India Office Library and Records NHD32 f. 4 (Archer 1962: 6; Rookmaaker 1998: 77, fig. 43); (2) Natural History Museum, Hardwicke Collection, Zoology 88 f HAR, size 292 × 427 mm (Magee 2013: 84); (2) Private collection Simon Keynes, Cambridge (pers.comm.) – 6.3, fig. 6.7 – specimen 3.

1790 – Young rhino exported from "Laknaor", shipped on the *Melville Castle*, Captain Philip Dundas (1763–1807), which left Calcutta 1790-01-18 and arrived in London 1790-06-02. Exhibited by Thomas Clark (1737–1816) in the Lyceum, The Strand, London, until July 1793 – Burt 1791; Bingley 1804: 487; Rookmaaker et al. 2015 – 6.4, figs. 6.8, 6.9 – specimen 4.

C. Period of Nawab Saadat Ali Khan (1752–1814), Reigned 1798–1814

1799-03-15 – William Tennant (1758–1813), army chaplain, sees a rhino of 12 years old in an apartment near the Palace – Tennant 1803, vol. 2: 410 – specimen 3.

1802-04-10 – George Annesley, Viscount Valentia (1770–1844), British politician, mentions 1 rhino in the menagerie – Valentia 1809, vol. 1: 117 – specimen 3.

D. Period of Nawab Ghazi-ud-din Haidar Khan (1769–1827), First King of Oudh 1814–1827

1814-10 – Amelia (Thackeray) Shakespear (1780–1824), British Civil Service, sees 2 young rhinos – Irvine 1938: 299 – 6.5 – specimens 5, 6 or 7.

1814-11-06 – 2 female rhinos "of middle growth" and 1 younger rhino were seen by Francis Edward Rawdon-Hastings, 1st Marquess of Hastings (1754–1826), Governor General of India 1812–1821 – Hastings 1858, vol. 1: 224 – 6.5 – specimens 5, 6, 7.

1819-10-21 – Colonel Thomas Lumsden (1789–1874), at Palace of Furreed (Farrad) Bakhsh, notes "near to the carriages I saw seven animals of the rhinoceros kind" – Lumsden 1822: 16 – 6.5 – specimens 5–11.

[1810s] – The gazetteer by Walter Hamilton (1774–1828) states that "the Nabob has a menagerie: the rhinoceros being the only remarkable animal in the collection" – W. Hamilton 1815: 498, 1820: 348 – specimens unclear (5–11).

1824-10-21 – Reginald Heber (1783–1826), Bishop of Calcutta 1823–1826, visits Lucknow and records 5 or 6 large rhinos "on the other side of the river Goomty, in a well-wooded park" – Heber 1828a, vol. 1: 381 (1st edn), 1828b, vol. 2: 58 (2nd edn) – 6.1, 6.5 – specimens included in 5–11.

1826-04-12 – A rhino-elephant fight was expected, but did not take place during visit of William Pitt Amherst, 1st Earl Amherst (1773–1857), Governor General 1823–1828 – Shouldham 1826: cli – 6.6 – specimens unclear (5–11).

1826-04-12 – Major Francis Gresley (1807–1880), Bengal Army, was present during Lord Amherst's visit. He wrote to his father describing his excitement at the prospect of watching "all kinds of fights: elephants together with tiger and buffalo and rhinoceros and bear with crocodile, which I dare say will be highly amusing and terrific." The rhino fight was abandoned – Shrestha 2009: 109 after Letter books of Francis Gresley (British Library, India Office, B120) – 6.6 – specimens unclear (5–11).

1820s [? 1827] – Abdul Halim Sharar (1860–1926) mentions rhino-tiger fight in time of Ghazi-ud-din – Sharar 1975: 117 – 6.6 – specimens unclear (5–7, 9–11).

E. Period of Nawab Nasir-ud-din Haidar Shah Jahan (1803–1837), Reigned 1827–1837

1827–12 – The intrepid lady traveller Fanny Parks, sometimes found as Parkes (1794–1875) visited Lucknow where she briefly mentioned a fight of "a rhinoceros against three wild buffaloes" – Parks 1850, vol. 1: 74 – 6.7 – specimen unclear (5–7, 9–11)

1827-12-14 – Rhino-tiger fight displayed during visit of Stapleton Cotton, 1st Viscount Combermere (1773–1865), Commander-in-Chief of India 1825–1830, reported by his Aides-de-Camp Edward Caulfield Archer (1771–1855) and Godfrey Charles Mundy (1804–1860) – Mundy 1832, vol. 1: 38; Archer 1833, vol. 1: 34 – 6.6 – specimen unclear (5–7, 9–11).

1830s – Presence of 15–20 rhinos recorded by William Knighton (1834–1900) after William Croupley. His account is at least partly fictitious – Knighton 1855: 253; Edwardes 1960 – 6.7 – specimens not included in table.

1831-01-18 – Fanny Parks (1794–1875) witnessed a fight between two rhinos which chased the spectators – Parks 1850, vol. 1: 177–178 – 6.7 – specimens unclear (5–7, 9–11).

1834 – Anonymous visitor saw several rhinos chained to trees – Anon. 1834b: 217; *Friend* 1835-03-14 – specimens unclear (5–7, 9–11).

1835-08 – Female rhino included in large gift of King Nasir-ud-din to King William IV; did not arrive in London, hence died in transit – Anon. 1837: 44; Brown 2001; Llewellyn-Jones 2016 – 6.8 – specimen 9.

F. Period of Nawab Muhammad Ali Shah (1777–1842), Reigned 1837–1842

1837-12-29 – Fight of 2 rhinos during visit of Prince Willem Frederik Hendrik (1820–1879) of The Netherlands, reported by Pieter Arriëns (1791–1860) – Arriëns 1853: 125; Pol 2016: 92 – 6.9 – specimens unclear (5–7, 9–11).

1837–12 – A rhino fight was scheduled, not witnessed by Emily Eden (1797–1869) and Fanny Eden (1801–1849), sisters of Governor-General George Eden, 1st Earl of Auckland (1784–1849) – Eden 1866, vol. 1: 88 – 6.9 – specimens unclear (5–7, 9–11).

1841-12-26 – Prince Aleksei Dmitrievich Soltykoff or Saltykoff (1806–1859), Russian diplomat, saw in the stables "Une douzaine de rhinocéros hideux et enormes étaient enchaines sous un long toit soutenu par des poudres" (12 rhinos chained under a long roof). From the description these stables were in or near the Chota Imambara of Hussainabad – Soltykoff 1848: 155, 157, 1858: 179 – 6.9, chapter 15 note 87 – specimens 5–7, 9–11, 12–16.

G. Period of Nawab Amjad Ali Shah (1801–1847), Reigned 1842–1847

1843-03-03 – The Prussian army officer Leopold von Orlich (1804–1860) visited the Menagerie on the left bank of the Goomty consisting of a large rectangular court surrounded by stables. There were 13 tigers, monkeys, rabbits, antelopes, quails and an ichneumon. However, 6 rhinos had been removed "to adorn various sepulchral monuments" and Orlich gave no indication that he had seen any of these – Orlich 1845a: 215, 1845b, vol. 2: 120, 1845c, vol. 2: 112 – specimens unclear (5–7, 9–16).

1843 – The German traveller Wolf Erich von Schönberg of Herzogswalde (1812–1887) visited the Iman-barah at Hussynabad (Hussainabad) noticing "some rhinoceroses and elephants, kept to amuse their masters by their combats in the arena" – Schönberg 1853, vol. 1: 134 – specimens unclear (5–7, 9–16).

1845-03-26 – Prince Friedrich Wilhelm Waldemar of Prussia (1817–1849) went to stables on the [north] bank of the Goomty, where he saw the enclosures for rhinos and elephants used for animal

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fights – Mahlmann 1853, part 2: 30; Kutzner 1857: 206; Burbach 1873, vol. 1: 429 – 6.9 – specimens unclear (5–7, 9–16).

[1840s?, date uncertain] – "At Lucknow may be seen many rhinoceros, some confined by a frail wooden railing, and others tethered to posts by ropes round a fore leg" – Old Shekarree 1860: 129 (the identity of the author is uncertain, now believed not to be Henry Astbury Leveson, who wrote under a similar pseudonym on hunting in Africa. The author gives no clue about the date of his observations).

H. Period of Nawab Wajid Ali Shah (1822–1887), King of Oudh 1847–1856 – Exiled to Calcutta in March 1856

1850s – Rhino fights mentioned by Joseph Fayrer (1824–1907), who was surgeon in Lucknow from July 1853 to 1858, and in charge of wild animals at the time of annexation in 1856 – Fayrer 1900: 92 – 6.9 – specimens unclear (5–7, 9–16).

pre-1855 – Account of "visit of a recent traveller to Lucknow", who saw in the menagerie "a rhinoceros tied to a tree", "I made my escape as quickly as possible, more especially as the rhinoceros began to shew signs of displeasure at our long stay" – Townsend 1855: 127 – specimen unclear (5–7, 9–16).

1855 – Major John Arthur Bayley (1831–1901) sees 3 rhinos in town driven along by horsemen armed with long spears – Bayley 1875: 140 – 6.9 – specimens 14–16.

1856-08 – Sale of King's menagerie (in Oudh). Media reports state that catalogue of auction included 3 rhinos – *Leeds Times* [and others] 1856-08-02 – 6.11 – specimens 17–19.

1856-08 – Sale of the King's menagerie. Edward Blyth (1810–1873) bought 2 rhinos at Rs 250 and transported them to Kolkata (further fate unknown) – Fayrer 1875b: 18; Grote 1875: x – 6.11 – specimens 18, 19.

[undated] – William Walker (1838–1908), writing as Tom Cringle in the *Times of India*, states that "the fights between elephants and rhinoceroses, which required to be viewed at a safe distance, took place across the Goomtee on the level ground in front of the Hazaree Bagh, the King and the court watching them from the verandah of the Shah Munzil" – Walker 1865: 84.

I. Rhino Confiscated from Rundheer Singh 1852

1852-02 – Rhino confiscated at raid of Rundheer Singh's camp on 12 February 1852, presented to Lucknow authorities – Anon. 1852a – 6.10 – specimen 17.

1858-03-27 – Rhino taken at Kaiserbagh by 53rd Regiment, commander Lt.-Gen. William Sutherland (1788–1862). Seen by Edmund Hope Verney (1838–1910) on 27 March 1858 – Jones 1859: 197; Verney 1862: 122 – 6.10 – specimen 17.

1858 – Soldier at time of Indian Mutiny was punished for shooting a tame rhino which had been captured by his regiment. His defence was that the hide should be too thick – Kinloch 1885: 62 – specimen 17.

J. King Wajid Exiled in Garden Reach, Calcutta 1856–1887

1876 – "Mr Routledge has just secured a splendid specimen of a rhinoceros standing only 2 ½ feet (76 cm) from the ground. It was captured for him at the Sunderbans" – *Times of India* 1876-09-09 – 6.11 – specimen 20.

1887-12-01 – 2 females – Sale of King's menagerie, catalogue commences with 2 female rhinos, priced at Rs 2000 each – *Amrita Bazar Patrika* (Calcutta) 1887-12-01 (from *Englishman*); Llewellyn-Jones 2016 – 6.11 – specimens 20, 21.

1887 – Female *R. sondaicus* arriving in Calcutta Zoo in 1887 had lived 10 years in Oudh's menagerie – Calcutta Zoo 1888; Noll 1889; Sanyal 1892: 131; Flower 1931: 203; Rookmaaker 1998: 122 – 6.11 – specimen 20.

1887 – Female *R. unicornis* acquired by Calcutta Zoo at sale of Oudh's menagerie – Calcutta Zoo 1888; Noll 1889; Anon. 1890: 234; Rookmaaker 1998: 55 – 6.11 – specimen 21.

TABLE 6.14 Numbers of rhinos observed in Lucknow in respective years

1810		1820		1830	(15–20)	1840		1850	
1811		1821		1831	2	1841	12	1851	
1812		1822		1832		1842	several	1852	1
1813		1823		1833		1843	6	1853	
1814	2–3	1824	5–6	1834	several	1844		1854	
1815		1825		1835		1845	several	1855	3
1816		1826		1836		1846		1856	3
1817		1827	1–2	1837	2	1847		1857	
1818		1828		1838		1848		1858	
1819	7	1829		1839		1849		1859	

Details are found in the Chronological List. The numbers 15–20 in 1830 are from Knighton (1855) which may be fictitious in detail, hence not counted in totals.

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TABLE 6.15 Tentative list of rhinoceros specimens kept by the Nawabs of Oudh

Faizabad
1. 1765. Captured in 1760–1765. No further data.
2. 1769. Captured in 1769. No further data.

Lucknow
3. 1789, 1799, 1802. Adult rhino. No further data.
4. 1790. Young rhino shipped to London, arriving 2 June 1790. Clark's Rhinoceros at The Lyceum.
5. 1814, 1819, 1824, 1841. female [1/7 in 1819, 1/6 in 1824, 1/12 in 1841], died before 1856.
6. 1814, 1819, 1824, 1841. younger female [1/7 in 1819, 1/6 in 1824, 1/12 in 1841], died before 1856.
7. 1814, 1819, 1824, 1841. young animal [1/7 in 1819, 1/6 in 1824, 1/12 in 1841], died before 1856.
8. 1819, one of seven rhinos in 1819, died before 1824 (when maximum 6 rhino were reported).
9. 1819, 1824, 1835. female [1/7 in 1819, 1/6 in 1824] to UK in 1835, died in transit.
10. 1819, 1824, 1841. 1 of 7 in 1819, 1/6 in 1824, 1/12 in 1841, died before 1856.
11. 1819, 1824, 1841. 1 of 7 in 1819, 1/6 in 1824, 1/12 in 1841, died before 1856.
12. 1841, 1855, 1 of 12 rhinos, died before 1856.
13. 1841, 1855, 1 of 12 rhinos, died before 1856.
14. 1841, 1855, 1 of 12 rhinos, died before 1856.
15. 1841, 1855, 1 of 12 rhinos, died before 1856.
16. 1841, 1855, 1 of 12 rhinos, died before 1856.
17. 1852, confiscated at raid of Rundheer Singh's camp. Not sold at auction of 1856. Died 1858.
18. 1841, 1855. 1 of 12 in 1841, sold at auction of menagerie in 1856, arrived Calcutta (Blyth).
19. 1841, 1855. 1 of 12 rhinos in 1841, sold at auction of menagerie in 1856, arrived Calcutta (Blyth).

Calcutta (Kolkata)
20. 1876. Female. Captured in Sundarbans (*R. sondaicus*) through Rutledge. Sold at auction in 1887. To Alipore Zoo in Calcutta.
21. 1887. Female. Arrival unknown. Second rhino included in Wajid's auction sale. To Alipore Zoo in Calcutta.

The potentially inflated numbers proposed by Knighton (1855) are not included. Larger numbers were simultaneously recorded in 1819 (7 rhinos), 1824 (6 rhinos) and 1841 (12 rhinos).

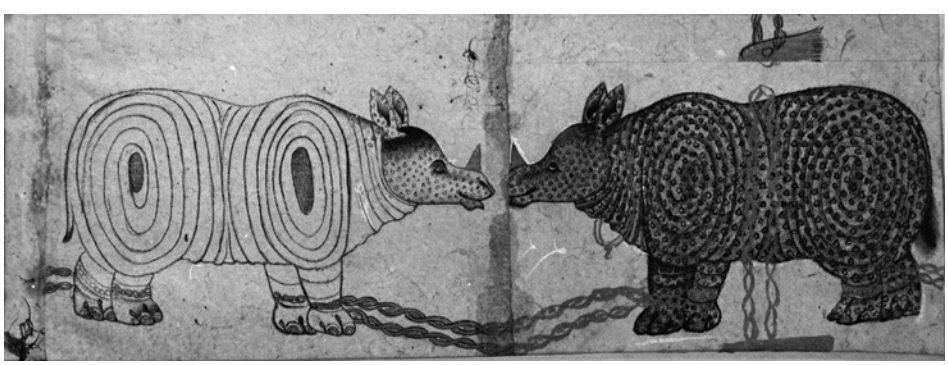

FIGURE 6.4
Two rhinos with feet chained, in a miniature painted in the late 18th century in India. The artist, locality and date are unknown. Image 6 × 15.2 cm
REPRODUCED IN BAUTZE (1985, FIG. 5) FROM THE COLLECTION OF KUMAR SANGRAM SINGH OF NAWALGARH

6.2 Capture of a Rhinoceros in 1769

During one of the regular hunting expeditions in the northern stretches of Oudh organised by Nawab Shuja-ud-Daula, a rhino was captured in 1769. This is the implication of a scene depicted in the Atlas assembled by the French army officer Jean-Baptiste-Joseph Gentil (1726–1799), who was at the court when it was still largely located in Faizabad (18.8). While the date 1769 is recorded in the Atlas, there is no further information about the fate of the little rhino in the painting (fig. 18.4). It could have been kept for a while either in Faizabad or in Lucknow where some of the official administration was located before the capital of Oudh moved there in 1775.

A miniature drawing of this period (fig. 6.4) showing two chained rhinos may represent a scene in Oudh, Jaipur or elsewhere (Bautze 1985: 423, fig. 5).

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FIGURE 6.5 A royal lion hunt at Allahabad. Painting attributed to Mir Kalan Khan in Lucknow, 1760–1765. The central figure has been identified as Nawab Shuja-ud-daula. A captured rhino is escorted by three royal guards in the lower left corner. Watercolour and gouache, 72 × 84.5 cm
CLIVE COLLECTION. POWIS CASTLE, POWYS, WALES © NATIONAL TRUST IMAGES/ERIK PELHAM

The painter Mir Kalan Khan was trained in the Mughal court and worked in Lucknow from about 1750 (Bautze 1993: 280). A painting called "A royal lion hunt at Allahabad" shows a rhino being guided by four men, and while it is not the main subject matter, there is no doubt that the animal had just been captured (figs. 6.5, 6.6). Although the location might have been in the region of Allahabad as suggested by the title, it is also thought that Mir Kalan Khan produced the painting in 1760–1765 at Lucknow (Losty 2002, McInerney 2011). There is no direct evidence that this event is linked to the capture in 1769 portrayed by Gentil. In view of the miniature of the two chained rhinos, it is not unlikely that there were two rhinos in captivity in Lucknow at the end of the 1760s.

6.3 Rhinoceros Exhibited in 1789

When Richard, 1st Marquess Wellesley (1760–1842) was Governor-General of India 1798–1805, he assembled a large collection of drawings (British Library, London). This includes a watercolour of a rhino with a rope around the neck, without inscription (Archer 1962). A very similar folio is found in the Hardwicke Collection (Natural History Museum, London), with the following inscription in pencil: "Rhinoceros unicornis. – drawn from a living animal in possession of Asoph-ud Dowlah – Vizir – Lucnow 1789" (Magee 2013: 84). A third copy without data is in the private collection of Simon Keynes, University of Cambridge (fig. 6.7). The animal has a chain and a rope

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FIGURE 6.6
Detail of the hunt at Allahabad showing a captured rhinoceros
CLIVE COLLECTION ©NATIONAL TRUST IMAGES/ERIK PELHAM

around the neck, shows a horn of reasonable size, and looks adult. Blyth (1872c) noticed that head and lower limbs were quite smooth, which he thought to "represent a peculiar and undescribed species." However, it is clearly *R. unicornis*.

6.4 Clark's Rhinoceros in London, 1790–1793

In 1790 a young rhino "from Laknaor, in the East Indies" was shipped to London on the *Melville Castle*, arriving on 2 June 1790. It was bought by the entrepreneur Thomas Clark (1737–1816) and exhibited at the Lyceum on The Strand, London until it died in July 1793. The painting of a large adult male rhino with a good-sized horn by the well-known animal artist George Stubbs (1724–1806) is supposed to be this specimen (fig. 6.8). However a drawing by N. Burt of a young chained animal in 1791 appears to contradict this (fig. 6.9). The history of this rhino is clear, but the anomaly of the depictions has not been resolved (Rookmaaker et al. 2015).

6.5 Groups of Rhinos during the Reign of Nawab Ghazi-Ud-Din

In October 1814, Amelia Shakespear took her children to see two young rhinos in Lucknow "which were perfectly tame and gentle and ate bread from the hands of several of the gentlemen." Just a few weeks later, the Governor-General Hastings was given an opportunity to see three rhinos: "Two were females of middle growth. The third was quite

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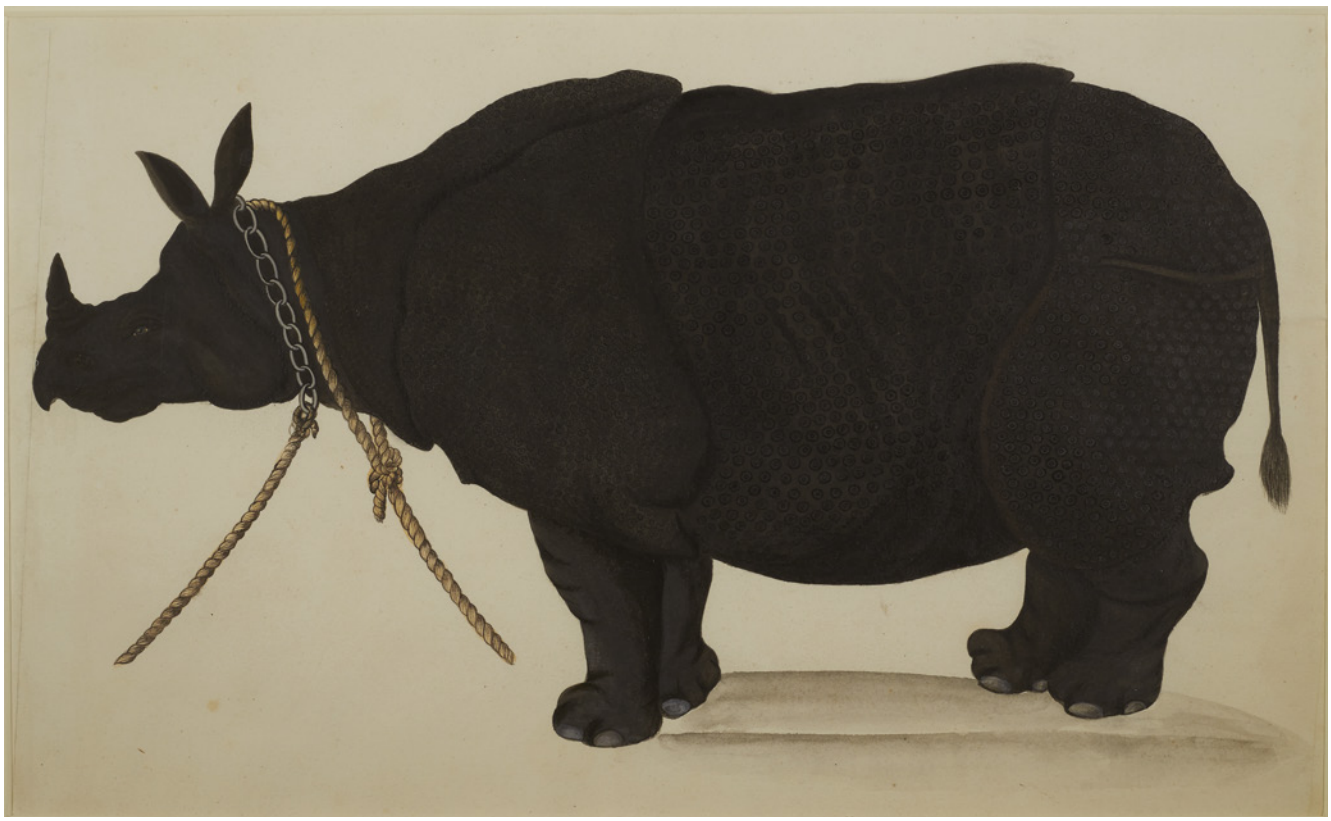

FIGURE 6.7 Watercolour of a rhinoceros with ropes around the neck. An identical copy in the Natural History Museum, London (Hardwicke Collection) states that it was an animal alive in Lucknow in 1789
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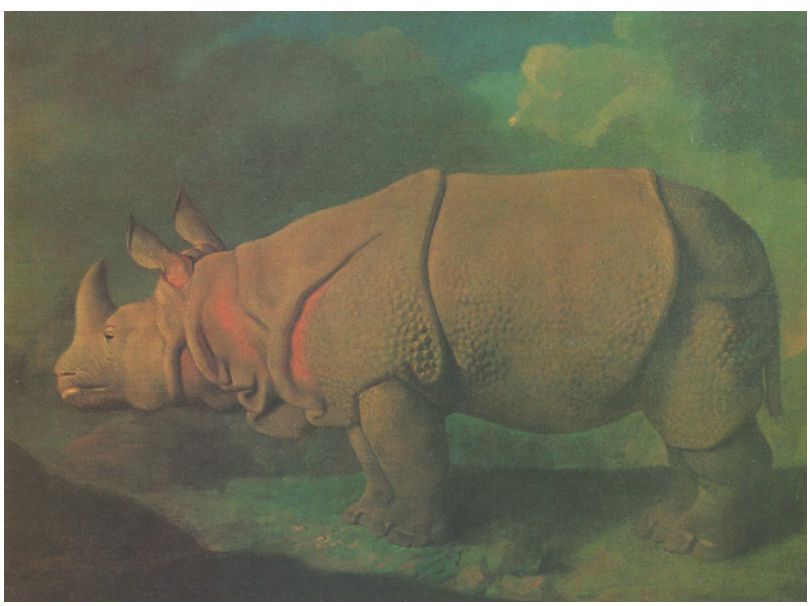

FIGURE 6.8
George Stubbs (1724–1806), undated painting of a male rhinoceros. Oil on canvas. Size 75 × 96 cm. From the collection of the surgeon John Hunter (1728–1793)
WITH PERMISSION © HUNTERIAN MUSEUM, ROYAL COLLEGE OF SURGEONS OF ENGLAND, LONDON, RCSSC/P 267

young. They appeared tame and gentle." As the ages and sizes do not correspond, maybe there was already a larger group in the King's menagerie. In 1819 Colonel Thomas Lumsden saw seven rhinos when he arrived at the Farhad Bakhsh, within the Chattar Manzil Palace complex. It is likely that the rhinos, together with some other larger animals, were kept in a park on the north (left) bank of the Gomti River, where Bishop Reginald Heber in October 1824 described a peaceful scene, with "five or six very large rhinoceroses, the first animals of the kind I ever saw, and of which I found that prints and drawings had given me a very imperfect conception. They are more bulky animals,

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FIGURE 6.9
Drawing of a rhinoceros in the Exeter 'Change Menagerie in London in 1791. Signed (lower left) N. Burt, Del.; (lower right) Record Sculpt. The draughtsman N. Burt was "of the Naval and Drawing Academy, Tottenham Court Road." Engraved by John Record
BURT, *DELINEATION OF CURIOUS FOREIGN BEASTS AND BIRDS*, 1791, PLATE OPPOSITE P. 9

and of a darker colour, than I had supposed, and the thickness of the folds of their impenetrable skin much surpasses all which I had expected. These at Lucknow are gentle and quiet animals, except that one of them has a feud with horses. They seem to propagate in captivity without reluctance, and I should conceive might be available to carry burthens as well as the elephant, except that, as their pace is still slower than his, their use could only be applicable to very great weights, and very gentle travelling. These have sometimes had howdahs on them, and were once fastened in a carriage, but only as an experiment which was never followed up" (Heber 1828a, vol. 1: 381). This must have been one of the very few instances where an attempt was made to let a rhino pull a carriage, obviously too difficult, unless it is in an imaginary setting like that painted by the Italian artist Guiseppi Zocchi in 1757 (fig. 12.18). Although Heber only mentions full-grown specimens, no younger ones, he implies that the rhinos were breeding in captivity, which was accepted as evidence by Darwin (1868, vol. 2: 165). Certainly, a group of 5 or 6 or 7 rhinos must have been quite a sight.

6.6 Rhinos Fighting other Rhinos and Tigers

Fights involving rhinos are first mentioned in the reign of Nawab Ghazi-ud-din, and were to become a more regular spectacle in later years. The first exact and reliable reference dates to the visit of the Governor-General Lord Amherst, who was informed about proposed fights on 12 April 1826. However, due to the ill health of the King, this did not actually take place (Shouldham 1826). A more successful attempt was made on 14 December 1827 in honour of the visit of Stapleton Cotton (1773–1865), the Commander-in-Chief of India when neither animal was harmed: "A rhinoceros was next let loose in the open court-yard, and the attendants attempted to induce him to pick a quarrel with a tiger who was chained to a ring. The rhinoceros appeared, however, to consider a fettered foe as quite beneath his enmity; and having once approached the tiger and quietly surveyed him, as he writhed and growled, expecting the attack, turned suddenly round and trotted awkwardly off to the yard gate, where he capsized a palankeen which was carrying away a lady fatigued with the sight of these unfeminine sports" (Mundy 1832, vol. 1: 38).

Another fight between a rhino and tiger is described by the author and publisher Abdul Halim Sharar, which he sets in the time of Ghazi-ud-din, but his source is obscure. His description of the event is rather gruesome, and hopefully it was not a frequent occurrence: "The most interesting battles were between a tiger and a rhinoceros. Except for the underpart of its belly, the rhinoceros is brazen-bodied and the tiger's teeth and claws have no effect on it. With the assurance of this strength, the rhinoceros cared nothing for the strongest of foes and, lowering its head, was able to get under its adversary's belly and rip it open with the horn on its snout; all the entrails came tumbling out and the adversary's days were over. Only rarely did a tiger knock a rhinoceros flat on its back and then tear open Its belly with teeth and claws. Generally the rhinoceros managed to kill the tiger with a thrust of its horn" (Sharar 1975: 117). Tigers in the wild might sometimes attack young rhinos. Such scenes remain the realm of artistic interpretations, like one found in a drawing by the German artist Adolf Closs from the 1880s (fig. 6.10). A staged fight similar to those seen in Lucknow was depicted in dramatic fashion by the American artist Frederick Melville du Mond around 1900 (fig. 6.11). An equally fictitious scene of tiger fighting a rhino in the

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FIGURE 6.10 "Un drame dans les jungles" (A jungle drama). Tiger attacking a young rhino which is rescued by the mother. Signed by the German painter and illustrator Gustav Adolf Closs (1864–1938) and engraved by Oskar Frenzel (1855–1915). Size 20 × 27 cm
DECINTHEL, *LA CHASSE ILLUSTRÉE*, 1 OCTOBER 1887, P. 317

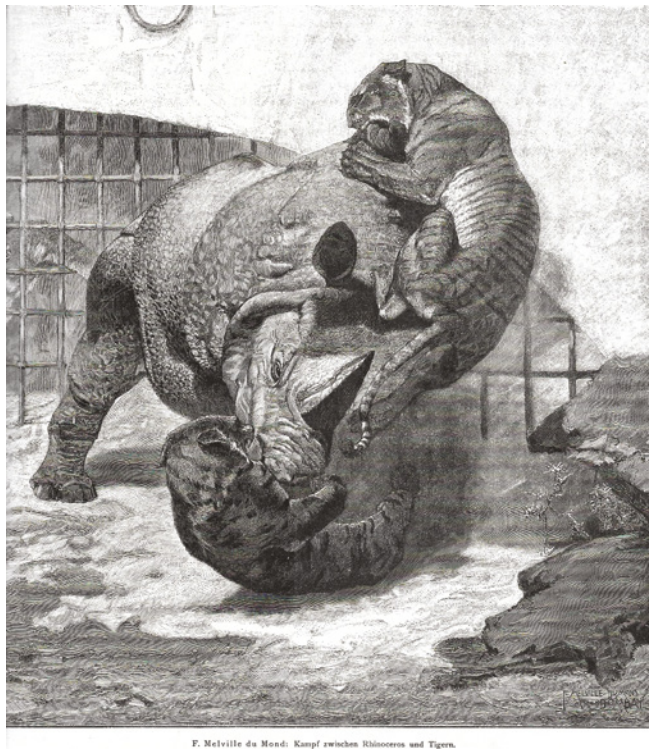

FIGURE 6.11 Fight between rhino and a pair of tigers "Kampf zwischen Rhinoceros und Tigern." This is a fictitious scene created by the American artist Frederick Melville du Mond (1867–1927), who visited India in 1900. The artist signs (lower right corner) with the location "Bombay." He is known for drawings showing animal battles. This image (24 × 24 cm) was published in an unknown German language publication, probably soon after 1900
COLLECTION KEES ROOKMAAKER

arena was drawn by John Alexander Harrington Bird published in a late posthumous reprint of a book by the Scottish novelist George John Whyte-Melville (1901) without further explanation (fig. 6.12).

6.7 The Time Of Nasir-Ud-Din in the 1820s

The conditions in Lucknow during the reign of Nawab Nasir-ud-din are the subject of the *Private life of an Eastern King* published in 1855 when the annexation of Oudh was being discussed. First published by "a member of the household" anonymously due to political and negative personal contents, the author William Knighton (1834–1900) had not been to Lucknow at the time and relied on information from the librarian Edward Croupley (Tait 1857). Despite being semi-fictitious and unillustrated, the book was quite popular, with two further printings in 1855, again in 1856 and 1857, followed by others later in the century. Bénédict-Henry Révoil (1816–1882) presented a French translation in 1858 and 1865, while Ludwig Thiele gave a German version in 1856. None of this allows one to dismiss the passages about the presence of rhinos or the animal fights. However, it does leave some room to doubt the veracity of the actual numbers, when Knighton writes about 15 to 20 rhinos "kept in the open park around Chaungunge, and allowed to roam about, at large, within certain limits" (Knighton 1855: 253). He writes more convincingly about the fights staged between two rhinos (preferably males) which would try to attack their opponent's belly with their horn (with an example from wild surroundings in fig. 6.13).

Fanny Parks, who lived in India 1822–1839 with her husband Charles Crawford Parks (1797–1854) working as a collector for the East India Company, seemed quite pleased by such entertainment which was perhaps not as harsh as

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FIGURE 6.12 "With a short labouring trot he moves around the arena." Engraving signed by John Alexander Harrington Bird (1846–1936) showing a fictitious scene of a tiger fighting a rhino
WHYTE-MELVILLE, *THE GLADIATORS*, 1901, P. 151

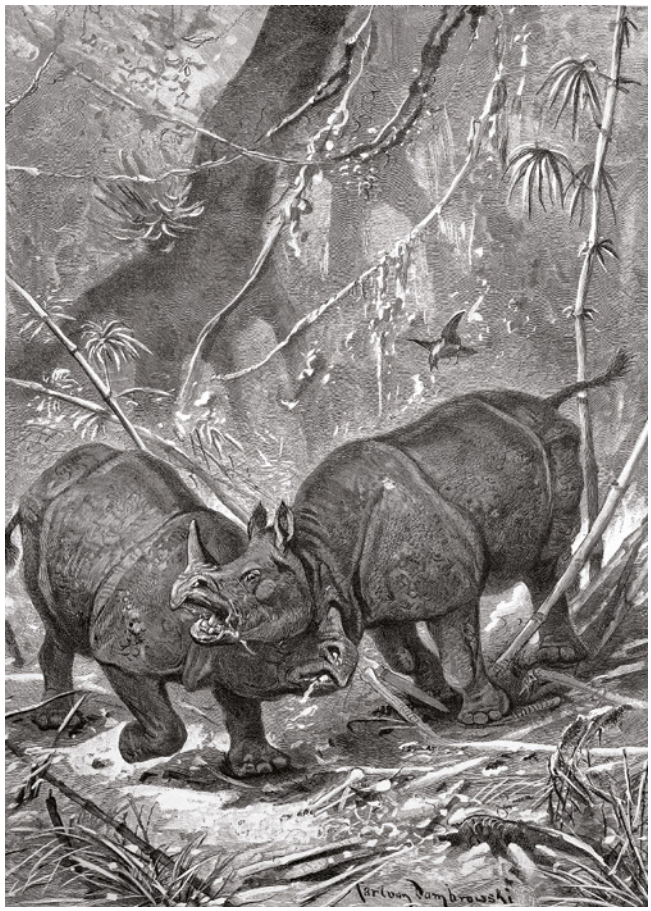

FIGURE 6.13 Two rhinos arguing among themselves in the jungle. Imaginary scene drawn by the German artist Carl von Dombrowski (1872–1951)
SOURCE UNKNOWN, EARLY 20TH CENTURY. COLLECTION KEES ROOKMAAKER

could be imagined: "When the elephant fights were over, two rhinoceros were brought before us, and an amusing fight took place between them; they fought like pigs. The plain was covered by natives in thousands, on foot or on horseback. When the rhinoceros grew fierce, they charged the crowd, and it was beautiful to see the mass of people flying before them" (Parks 1850, vol. 1: 177).

6.8 A Gift for King William IV in 1835

In the early 1830s, Nasir-ud-din felt compelled to send a splendid gift consisting of many items to the British King William IV (1765–1837) and his spouse Queen Adelaide of Saxe-Meiningen (Brown 2001; Llewellyn-Jones 2000: 11). The shipment left Lucknow on 20 January 1835, detailed in a list of 6 February 1835, signed by the Assistant to the Resident John Dowdeswell Shakespear (1806–1867), which included 2 elephants, 2 Arabian horses, 2 cows and "1 Female Rhinoceros, with Brocade Shool, or covering" (Anon. 1837: 44). Having reached Kolkata in March, the donation accompanied by Philip Friell representing the Nawab was forwarded on the *Duke of Argyll* reaching London 7 August 1835 (*London Evening Standard* 1835-08-08). The horses were dispatched to Windsor Castle, the elephants to the London Zoo and the Surrey Zoological Gardens. However, there was no rhino among the live arrivals, so she either died in Kolkata or during the voyage, without leaving further trace.

6.9 Rhinos in Lucknow before the Annexation in 1856

The Dutch Prince Willem Frederik Hendrik, third son of King Willem II (Wiliam II), made a tour on the Ganges as a teenager in 1837 (Pol 2016). He had the company of the

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FIGURE 6.14
Capture on 12 February 1852 of Rundheer Singh of Patti Syfabad. Sketch by Frank Slinger, Deputy Commissioner at Allahabad
ILLUSTRATED LONDON NEWS, 15 MAY 1852, P. 388

sisters of the Governor General, Emily and Fanny Eden. He saw a fight of two rhinos which were still shackled at the hind legs (Arriëns 1853).

The Russian aristocratic traveller and artist Prince Alexis Soltykoff (1806–1859) was roaming around Lucknow in December 1841 when he passed the stables situated in a park near the mausoleum built for the Nawab's favourite horse and saw 12 rhinos chained under a long roof supported by a beam (Soltykoff 1848).

Visiting the north bank of the Goomty River on 26 March 1845, the Prussian Prince Friedrich Wilhelm Waldemar saw stables of an undefined number of rhinos, but apparently no fight was staged at that time (Mahlmann 1853).

If there had been 12 rhinos in Lucknow in 1841, this number must have dwindled quite considerably in the next decade. The animal confiscated from Rundheer Singh in 1852 was kept in Lucknow, most probably together with those owned by the Nawabs. Joseph Fayrer still mentioned a fight including rhinos for an uncertain date in the 1850s. The clearest report comes from Major John Arthur Bayley for a visit in 1855: "One morning when riding into the town I was met by three rhinoceroses, driven along by half-a-dozen horsemen armed with long spears" (Bayley 1875: 140).

6.10 Rundheer's Rhinoceros 1852–1858

On 12 February 1852, Lieutenant-Colonel Robert Henry Wallace Dunlop (1823–1887), joint magistrate at Jaunpur in the south-east of Uttar Pradesh, took a small force of 34 native men to capture a local chief who was troubling the government. Rundheer or Randhir Singh was the third son of the rich zamindar Diwan Hirda Singh of Patti Saifabad in Pratapgarh District, then on the outskirts of Oudh territory. When Dunlop entered the camp, Rundheer was asleep and easily captured, later to be kept in confinement in Lucknow until 1856 (Lethbridge 1893: 517; Anon. 1852b; Anon. 1878a, vol. 3: 158). Dunlop found not only three hundred of Rundheer's followers, but also seven elephants and an "unusually large and intractable rhinoceros." The scene was the subject of a drawing made by Frank Slinger, the Deputy Commissioner of Allahabad, for the *Illustrated London News* of May 1852 (fig. 6.14). The rhino was handed over to the authorities in Lucknow and then probably became part of the Nawab's menagerie.

Or maybe it was the animal in the care of the 53rd regiment of the Bengal Native Infantry, recovered from the town's Kaiserbagh during the troubles of the Mutiny of 1857 according to Oliver John Jones (1813–1878): "a tame rhinoceros, who was reputed to be a hundred years old; it certainly was nearly blind, and quite stupid, but very good-natured, and would let one pull him by the horn or rub his scaly coat of mail without showing the slightest displeasure. He was taken up to their camp, and when I left them, he was there in safety, and, if not in clover, certainly in the midst of plenty" (Jones 1859: 197). On 27 March 1858, the British officer Edmund Hope Verney (1838–1910) observed "a wonderful rhinoceros in the camp, the property of the 53rd; he was found in Lucknow and is very tame; every day he is driven to a well to drink, guided by little taps from a twig which one would have thought could hardly have been felt through his thick hide: if, however, any one ventures to do more than touch him very lightly with it, he at once gets angry. He is very old,

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poor fellow, and suffers from some sort of ophthalmia, which has rendered him all but blind" (Verney 1862: 122). Apparently before long it was shot by mistake by one of the soldiers.

6.11 Sale of Oudh's Menagerie in 1856

The state of Awadh (Lucknow) was annexed by the British in February 1856, and King Wajid left the city to reach Kolkata on 13 May 1856. His menagerie in Lucknow could not be maintained and was put up for auction. An early list was circulating in April, with an unspecified number of rhinos (*Friends of India* 1856-04-03). A more detailed catalogue was mentioned in the British press in early August, pointing at an auction in July 1856. The list included 128 elephants, 2 giraffes, 18 tigers, 3 leopards, 4 lynxes, 60 hawks, 220 horses as well as 2,840 bullocks and 10,000 pigeons, not to forget 3 rhinos. Total receipts were Rs 1,50,000 (then about £15,000). It is likely that news of the auction had brought the Curator of the Indian Museum, Edward Blyth (1810–1873). In partnership with a German friend (probably the animal dealer Charles Jamrach), he bought many of the exotic animals at rock-bottom prices, like 16 tigers at Rs 10 each, a pair of rhinos at Rs 250, and a giraffe at Rs 500 (Fayrer 1875b; Grote 1875; Llewellyn-Jones 2000: 139). The third rhino, perhaps the one confiscated from Rundheer Singh, may not have been sold as it was too sick or old, and was cared for by the army. Blyth arranged for his lots to be transported to Kolkata, experiencing some casualties both on the journey and after arrival in town because onward shipment to Europe was difficult to obtain (Grote 1875; Rookmaaker 1997c; Brandon-Jones 1997). Blyth must have found accommodation for the two rhinos from Oudh somewhere in Kolkata. Presumably one of these animals was shipped on the *Sutledge* on 9 April 1858 to London, where it might have been cared for by Jamrach or another animal dealer. Its sale is unknown, as there are no records of any rhinos arriving in world zoos in the years 1856–1860 (Jamrach 1858; Rookmaaker 1998).

6.12 King Wajid Shah in Kolkata

Although the King was much devoted to his menagerie, he reached Kolkata in 1856 without it. However, he soon established an animal park at his new home called Garden Reach in Metiabruz, in Kolkata on the right side of the river (Llewellyn-Jones 2016). Besides 18,000 pigeons, there were to be 2000 other birds, animals and snakes (London *Times* 1874-10-27). The animal dealer William Rutledge (1839–1905) largely depended on the King for his business, supplying animals with an annual budget of 1 lakh (Rs 1,00,000) and the death of the King in 1887 precipitated its demise (Llewellyn-Jones 2016). The King also obtained at least two new rhinos while living in Metiabruz. One of these, standing 76 cm high, was captured in the Sundarbans for Rutledge (*Times of India* 1876-09-09) and must have been a specimen of *R. sondaicus*. The accession of the second specimen (*R. unicornis*) is not clear.

6.13 Auction in Kolkata in 1887

When Wajid Shah died on 1 September 1887, the animal collection was auctioned by Milton & Co., owners of a horse stable yard. An editorial in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* (Calcutta) of 1 December 1887 talks of a catalogue "commencing with two female rhinoceroses, which are priced at Rs. 2000 each." A sale at half that price was arranged with Ram Bramha Sanyal (1850–1908), who was engaged as Superintendent of the Calcutta Zoo in Alipore since its inception in 1876 (Llewellyn-Jones 2016). The 1887–1888 annual report of the Calcutta Zoo (1888) lists the addition of an Indian and a Javan rhinoceros. The lifespan of this *R. unicornis* is unclear, but it may still have been alive in 1890 (Anon. 1890: 234). The *R. sondaicus* was alive when Sanyal (1892: 131) wrote his important treatise on the management of animals in captivity, but no record of its death has been found. In 1891 the zoo had a large income from the sale of rhino urine (Ehlers 1894, vol. 1: 372), remarkable if this would prove to have been the product of an animal as rare as a *R. sondaicus*.

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The rhinoceros is an iconic animal. Three species once inhabited South Asia, two of which disappeared over a century ago. This survey aims to reconstruct the historical distribution of these large mammals resulting in new maps showing the extent of their occurrences. Thousands of sources varied in time and nature are used to study the interactions between man and rhinoceros. The text is supported by over 700 illustrations and 38 maps showing the importance of the rhinoceros in the scientific and cultural fabric of Asia and beyond.

Leendert Cornelis (Kees) Rookmaaker, Ph.D., University of Utrecht (1989), is a retired historian of zoology. His various interests are expressed in over 260 publications, including 12 books like *The Zoological Exploration of Southern Africa* (1989), *François Levaillant and the Birds of Africa* (2004), and *The Rhinoceros in Captivity* (1998). He is the editor of the comprehensive online Rhino Resource Center.

Series Editors
Aaron M. Bauer, Dominik Hünniger and Andreas Weber

ISBN 978-90-04-54488-8

ISSN 2452-3283
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BOOK REVIEWS

The Rhinoceros of South Asia

LC (Kees) Rookmaaker, with contributions by Joachim K Bautze and Kelly Enright

Reviewed by Lucy Vigne

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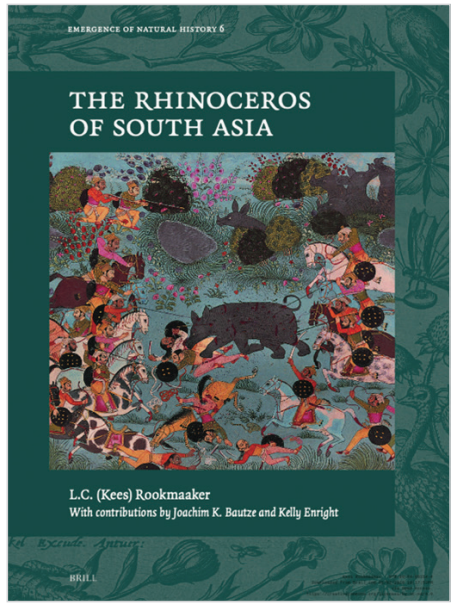
Eloquently written with a wealth of absorbing detail about Asian rhinos (*Rhinoceros unicornis*, *Rhinoceros sondaicus* and *Dicerorhinus sumatrensis*), and outstanding illustrations, this is a magnificent encyclopedic publication. The book describes the three rhinoceros species that existed in South Asia and their historical distribution. Most chapters cover *R. unicornis* (the author uses the Latin names), which had by far the most extensive range in South Asia. Kees Rookmaaker, a retired historian of zoology, has specialized in finding and compiling rhino records throughout his career. This book is the culmination of Rookmaaker's study of more than 40 years, collating archaeology, Indology, art history, palaeontology, geology, conservation and zoological research. It provides an incredible synthesis of data.


EMERGENCE OF NATURAL HISTORY 6
THE RHINOCEROS OF SOUTH ASIA
L.C. (Kees) Rookmaaker
With contributions by Joachim K. Bautze and Kelly Enright
BRILL
Figure 1. Front cover

The publication is available open access (free to the public) on the Internet, which will help researchers immensely for further study and those interested in rhinos around the world. The hard copy, a collector's item, can be obtained from the publisher's Brill (details at end). The text is supported by over 700 illustrations that show the importance of rhinos in the scientific and cultural fabric of South Asia, and beyond. There are 38 rhino distribution maps for the different parts of South Asia where they were found. All locality records are researched up to the map coordinates.

There are 82 datasets—with dates and locations—that include records of rhinos encountered and information about those people who recorded them, some hitherto unknown, with their life dates. There are 75 tables, some with important estimates of the status of rhinos. The first and last rhino recordings are given where they occurred across South Asia, the first time these have been compiled. The book is divided into 47 'Rhino Regions' with chapters moving from west to east. At the end is a detailed bibliography of 3,081 items and a comprehensive index.

The abundant illustrations with informative captions are fascinating and occasionally gruesome—these are part of history, and the author does not shy away from their inclusion. Instead, Rookmaaker comments that accurate records of a dead rhino provide a means of learning and 'for it to have some significance through some form of utilization'. A specimen can be examined

and measured scientifically and can provide an accurate locality and date. Some past observers confused the three species, and thus whether they were sympatric or allopatric in certain areas. Identification was easier when rhinos were killed or captured, but even then, the description of the species was often not clearly recorded. The author has been careful to note the occasional erroneous historical records or if there were inadequate data and the need for continuous investigation where possible.

Rookmaaker has scrutinized the literature on Asia's rhinos since his first academic paper was published in 1973 when he was just finishing secondary school, unravelling the story of Clara the Dutch rhinoceros (*R. unicornis*), who came to Holland and toured the European continent between 1741 and 1758. Since then, he has been intrigued by rhinos in the historical literature. This book is a labour of love, and combines academic precision with a clear writing style, presenting many absorbing anecdotes and stories.

British citizens living in South Asia described encounters with rhinos, sometimes hunts with Maharajas, and meeting rural people who told them of their experiences with rhinos. Many local hunters used pit traps and spears to kill rhinos for their meat and other body parts, mainly their skin and, of course, their horns, which were in demand for export to China. In some moving accounts by British colonials, involving the rescue or capture of rhinos, a common finding was how quickly these wild creatures habituated to captive life, often being ridden upon and following their keepers meekly. People who described rhinos in art or literature generally either captured them for private menageries and public zoos or killed them as trophies and for museums. They were perceived as dangerous beasts to hunt (Fig. 2).

In Rookmaaker's clear introduction, he laments that the history of natural science is not a well-studied field, despite the need to combine the humanities with science for effective conservation. Chapter 2 written by historian Kelly Enright 'Reading Rhinos through the Lens of Human-Animal Studies' prepares the reader for the text to come. She explains that the value of history is immense in helping guide our current actions and future plans, based on understanding varied cultural perspectives. She remarks that more

Figure 2. Artistic rendering of a rhinoceros attacking an elephant bearing Victor Reginald Brooke (1873–1914) on 12 February 1909 in the Manas jungle, Assam (Rookmaaker, *The Rhinoceros of South Asia*, Fig. 40.3).

people in India and Nepal today are aware of the allure of rhinos and respect them as treasures that must be guarded with as much care as museum artworks—albeit as living animals.

While the focus of the book is mostly on *R. unicornis* there is something new on every page, depending on what people find interesting. Part 1 (chapters 3–45) is about *R. unicornis* (the greater-one horned or Indian rhino). This rhino species is the only one endemic to South Asia that occurred in India, Bangladesh, Bhutan, Nepal, Pakistan, and Afghanistan, but disappeared from much of its range before the 19th century. With successful conservation approaches and anti-poaching measures *R. unicornis* has been recovering well in protected areas in northern and north-east India and southern Nepal. The species flourishes in the rich grassy floodplains of the Himalayan rivers, mainly in India's states of Assam and West Bengal, and in the southern provinces of Nepal.

Chapters 3–14 cover *R. unicornis* taxonomy and nomenclature; captivity, especially in Oudh (Lucknow

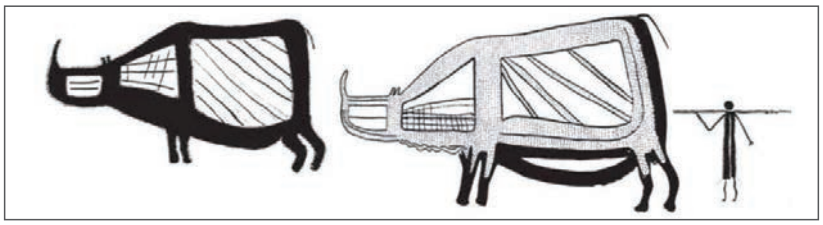


Figure 3. Erwin Neumayer surveyed prehistoric drawings (from the Mesolithic period 12,000-4000 years ago) in shelters and caves in the central part of India, providing for the book those depicting rhinos (tracing by Neumayer; Rookmaaker, *The Rhinoceros of South Asia*, Fig. 9.3).

Figure 4. All Mughal emperors from Babur to Humayan, Akbar, Jahangir, Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb hunted or kept rhinos in the 16th and 17th centuries. This painting by Willem Schellinks shows a hunting scene with Shah Jahan, circa 1665, with a rhino-elephant fight faintly in the background (Museum of Orientalists, Doha, Qatar; Rookmaaker, *The Rhinoceros of South Asia*, Fig 11.13).

Figure 5. Mahout and hunter on an elephant are surprised by a rhinoceros. A mural within the Badal Mahal, Palace of Bundi. Rajasthan. This is one example of a long series of depictions of rhinos on the walls of the palaces in Rajasthan, here for the first time made public; height: 56 cm (photographed by Joachim Bautze; Rookmaaker, *The Rhinoceros of South Asia*, Fig. 15.2).

Figure 6. King Tribhuvan of Nepal posing with a rhino after a hunt. Taken by Kiran Man Chitrakar, 1920s or 1930s. This is one of a series of photographs that have never been published before (private collection, reprint not allowed; Rookmaaker, *The Rhinoceros of South Asia*, Fig. 24.19).

Figure 7. Elephants hauling a dead *R. unicornis* in hill country. Watercolour by Sita Ram. The rhino was shot by the party of Hastings at Maharajpur in the Rajmahal Hills, Bihar, on 14 December 1820 (British Library; Rookmaaker, *The Rhinoceros of South Asia*, Fig. 29.1).

Figure 8. The Maharaja of Cooch Behar invited high-ranking officials and friends to take part in his annual shoots in West Bengal and Assam from 1871 to 1907, including women. Here in 1896, the Maharaja, in the bow tie and his son Rajev, are seen with Daisy of Pless next to her husband, the Prince of Pless. (This photo is from a private collection; Rookmaaker, *The Rhinoceros of South Asia*, Fig. 32.22).

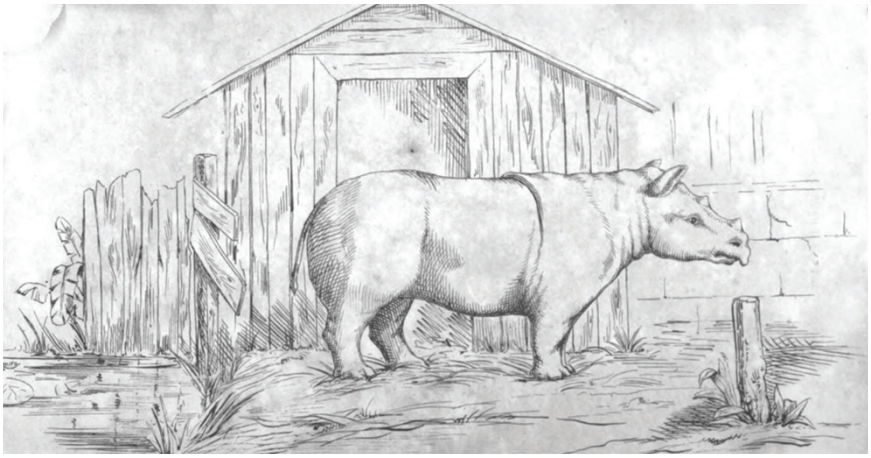


Figure 9. Begum was a famous two-horned hairy rhinoceros captured in Chittagong (Eastern part of Bangladesh) in 1867 by Captain Frederick Henry Hood, who made this drawing in his compound. This female rhino, *D. sumatrensis lasiotis*, lived in the London Zoo until 1900, setting a captive longevity record (Rookmaaker, *The Rhinoceros of South Asia*, Fig. 54.12).

and Baroda); fossil records; rock art in central India (Fig. 3); rhino records in Harappan settlements (an Indus Valley civilization that flourished from 2600 to 1900 BC in southern Pakistan); rhinos recorded in the Mughal period (from the start of the 16th century for two centuries) (Fig. 4); rhinos and their products exported from India east and west; historical records of rhinos in Afghanistan, Pakistan, Punjab and Gujarat.

Chapter 15 entitled 'A Pictorial survey of rhinos in the art of Rajasthan' was researched and written by Joachim Bautze. There are over 70 illustrations in this chapter alone, most showing rhinos encountering people, elephants, tigers and other rhinos. Many are photographed from wall paintings in some of Rajasthan's old palaces showing intricate, artistic details. These give clear evidence that their range once extended into Rajasthan (Fig. 5). Chapters 16–19 continue with historical records eastwards into Uttar Pradesh, including Dudhwa National Park (NP), where rhinos are nowadays protected.

Nepal follows (chapters 20–27), again with historical records of rhinos and those who encountered them (Fig. 6), including a chapter on members of the British royal family visiting Nepal. Rookmaaker also writes about the successful protection of rhinos in Shuklaphanta NP, Bardia NP, and Chitwan NP.

The following seven chapters return to India, from the state of Bihar (Fig. 7) to Cooch Behar (Fig. 8) in the state of West Bengal today and describe the growing numbers of rhinos in Gorumara NP and Jaldapara NP. Bhutan's rhino records (chapter 35) and then 10 chapters on the rhinos recorded in north-east India, including Fitzwilliam Thomas Pollok and his writings in the 19th century, are thoroughly described. The state of Assam is famous for its rhinos, nowadays well protected from poaching in Manas NP, Orang NP, Pabitora Wildlife Sanctuary and Kaziranga NP, which Rookmaaker covers in depth.

Part 2 (chapters 46–52) is about *R. sondaicus* (the lesser one-horned or Javan rhino). This species was found in South Asia's Bangladesh (Sunderbans) and India (West Bengal). Chapters cover taxonomy and nomenclature; captivity; historical records in Odisha (Orissa), the Sundarbans, North Bengal and Assam. The book describes their gradual local extinction in these regions. Today extremely few exist in the world, in merely one protected area in Java, Indonesia.

Part 3 (chapters 53–64) is about *D. sumatrensis* (the hairy or Sumatran rhino). This species was also found in South Asia's Bangladesh (Chittagong) and the north-east states of India (from Mizoram to Nagaland) and in West Bengal/Assam. Chapters cover taxonomy and nomenclature; captivity; and historical records in Chittagong and areas further north-east towards the Myanmar border. As for *R. sondaicus*, the book records the gradual local extinction of *D. sumatrensis* in South Asia, which remarkably had to be pieced together from just 26 reports from 1862 onwards. Today extremely few *D. sumatrensis* are known to survive in the world,

Figure 10. This is a previously unknown photograph of a young *R. sondaicus inermis* captured in the Sundarbans and kept in the premises of a well-known animal dealer, William Rutledge in Calcutta. Photo taken by Captain William George Stretton on 1 December 1875 (private collection; Rookmaaker, *The Rhinoceros of South Asia*, Fig. 48.9).

Figure 11. In 1876, Philip L. Sclater published one of the best illustrated papers about the rhinos exhibited at London Zoo highlighting their unique rhino collection. This Javan rhino is the subspecies *R. sondaicus sondaicus*. The plates were engraved after watercolours by the animal artist Joseph Wolf (Zoological Society of London; Rookmaaker, *The Rhinoceros of South Asia*, Fig. 46.1, and also *R. unicornis*: Fig. 3.1, and *D. sumatrensis*: Figs. 53.1, 53.2).

and are restricted to Sumatra, Indonesia.

Rookmaaker's earlier findings on the number and details of Asian rhinos in captivity historically, especially the most numerous, *R. unicornis*, but also *D. sumatrensis* (Fig. 9) and *R. sondaicus* (Figs. 10 and 11) are greatly augmented. For *R. sondaicus* Rookmaaker has revised his 1998 figure of 22 specimens in captivity to 39 clear identifications, still a very small number, and gives interesting information about them, with 19 recorded in captivity in India and Bangladesh, the last one in 1905.

An epilogue (chapters 65–67) summarizes

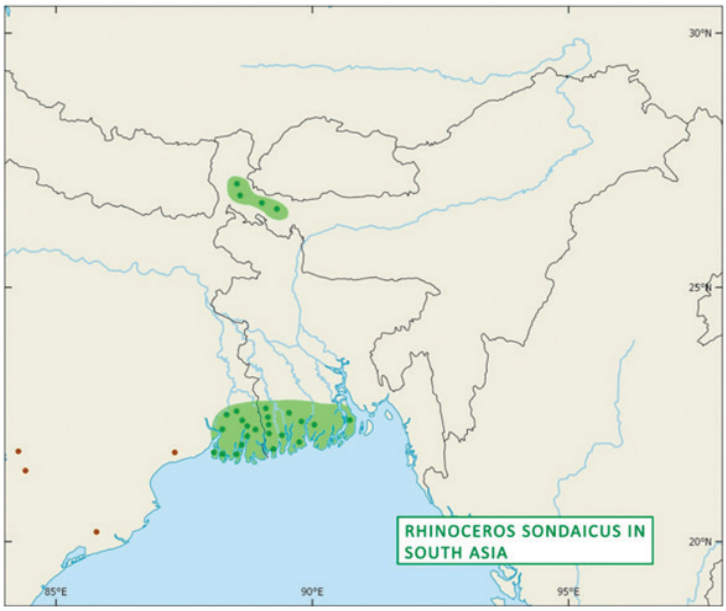


Figure 12. This map shows the historical distribution of *Rhinoceros sondaicus inermis* in South Asia. (Map design by Ajay Karthick and Richard Kees, © Kees Rookmaaker (Rookmaaker, *The Rhinoceros of South Asia*, Fig. 66.37).

Rookmaaker's main findings, with his updated historical distribution maps (Fig. 12) for each of the three species in South Asia. A map also shows the proto-historical distribution of *R. unicornis* from 11,700 years ago. Many factors led to the massive decline in rhinos in most of South Asia, including the spread of human settlement, hunting, and cultivation. The book provides the data to explore the processes leading to the local extinction of two of the three species, even in areas where human interference might not have been the most significant factor.

Rookmaaker comments near the end of his tome that he 'spent many happy hours chasing rhinos on the pages of the great books of the past and present in many shapes and forms'. His publication is indeed another great book, packed with nuggets of information. He points out that in retirement it was an enquiry he could 'pursue more vigorously', combining the many records from fossil remains, rock paintings, drawings, photographs, trophies and writings. These can inspire further study and data compilation about rhinos historically, as is the author's hope.

Kees Rookmaaker's masterly book, *The Rhinoceros of South Asia*, is the culmination of a life's work reconstructing the historical distribution of *R. unicornis*, *D. sumatrensis* and *R. sondaicus* resulting in new maps showing the extent of their occurrences. Thousands of sources were used to study the interactions between humans and the three rhinoceros species that were found in South Asia. While most of the material focuses on *R. unicornis*, there is important new information included for *D. sumatrensis* and *R. sondaicus*. I cannot recommend Rookmaaker's new book highly enough, for rhino researchers, those interested in art and history, and of course conservation, in South Asia, and indeed all enthusiasts wishing to increase their knowledge about the three ancient rhino species of Asia.

Rookmaaker, Kees (LC) 2024. The Rhinoceros of South Asia. Brill, Leiden, The Netherlands.
Published in digital e-book version on 30 April 2024: https://brill.com/display/title/64767, available Open Access to view or download.
Hardback published on 12 June 2024, order from Brill: https://brill.com/display/title/64767. Price (2024) €295 / about $325
Emergence of Natural History, Vol.6, pp. i–liv, 1-835 (size 22 x 29.5 x 4 cm).
ISBN 978-90-04-54488-8 (hardback)
ISBN 978-90-04-69154-4 (e-book)
https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004691544

native guides, which demonstrates the essential role of local knowledge in enabling European scientific exploration. The book also reveals the interconnected nature of nineteenth-century scientific networks, where knowledge, specimens, and people moved fluidly between metropoles and colonies.

The collections Pohl amassed in Brazil were remarkable in their scope. Among them were thousands of plants, and many mammals, birds, amphibians, fish, insects, shells, minerals, as well as some Indigenous artifacts that act as a testament to his interactions with Indigenous groups. In addition, Pohl not only sent live animals destined for the menageries of the Austrian imperial court, but also arranged the transport of two Indigenous individuals to Vienna; their ultimate fate is a deeply problematic episode reflecting the colonial-era practice of human exhibition.

Pohl's publications were an important outcome of the expedition, with his two-volume travelogue being of relevance not only to historians but also ethnologists, due to the linguistic samples from native Brazilian peoples it contains. Pohl's taxonomic work named numerous plant genera to honour members of the Austrian imperial family, further illustrating how scientific achievements often reveal social and patronage networks. In turn, in recognition of Pohl's botanical work, Martius named the genus *Pohlana* in his honour. Reproductions of depictions of many of these specimens by artists such as Thomas Ender (1793–1875) and Michael Sandler (1790–1850) illuminate this book.

The book is not only a rich biography of Johann Baptist Emanuel Pohl and a valuable resource for historians due to the vast previously unpublished archive material it presents, but also a critical examination of imperial science in the early nineteenth century. It makes a significant contribution to the historiography of scientific travel. The author's rigorous engagement with archival materials and the reconstruction of Pohl's journey offers readers a glimpse into the social, diplomatic, economic, and political dimensions of scientific exploration. Scholars interested in the intersections of science and empire will find much to appreciate in this work.

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ROOKMAAKER L. C. (Kees). *The rhinoceros of South Asia.* Emergence of Natural History series, Volume 6. Brill, Leiden and Boston: 2024. iv, 835 pp.; illustrated. Price €295. ISBN 9789004544888 (hardback), ISBN 9789004691544 (e-book – free pdf download).

On 20 May 1515 the most famous rhinoceros in the world arrived in Lisbon, Portugal as a gift from Mufazar Shah II to the Portuguese Governor Afonso de Albuquerque, who donated it to King Dom Manuel I. This rhinoceros is very familiar to us 500 years later, because it was portrayed in a sketch by Albrecht Dürer, although he never actually saw the animal. He based his sketch on a drawing and letter sent to him in Germany and so he can be forgiven for not getting every detail correct. The woodcut of Dürer's sketch shows a heavily armour-plated rhinoceros with a curious twisted horn planted on its shoulders. The rhinoceros did not survive long. King Dom Manuel I decided to present it to Pope Leo X, but after a brief visit to Marseilles on the way, the ship carrying the rhinoceros sank in a heavy storm at the end of January or early February 1516. This is just one of the many fascinating and highly detailed accounts that have been complied by Kees Rookmaaker in *The rhinoceros of South Asia*. Rookmaaker has studied rhinoceroses for more than 50 years and is custodian of the Rhino Resource Center (www.rhinoresourcecenter.com), which rightly proclaims itself as the largest rhino information website, so there is nobody better qualified to have written this beautiful, sumptuous book.

Packed with information and abundantly illustrated, *The rhinoceros of South Asia* is the new standard reference on the history of three species of rhinoceros known from South Asia: the Indian or greater one-horned rhinoceros, *Rhinoceros unicornis*; the Javan rhinoceros, *R. sondaicus*; and the Sumatran rhinoceros, *Dicerorhinus sumatrensis*. However, only one species – the Indian rhinoceros – survives in modest numbers in special areas of the Indian sub-continent today, with the other two hanging on, critically endangered, in tiny numbers in their respective island homes. The book is divided into three

sections, one per species, which follow a similar format with chapters on taxonomy and nomenclature, history of captivity in South Asia and historical records in the relevant Rhino Regions. So much more is known about the Indian rhinoceros that the section devoted to it occupies two thirds of the book with additional chapters on its fossil record, rock art, Mughal arts and sciences, and exports to the east and west, among others. There are also chapters on protecting Indian rhinoceroses in various national parks in India and Nepal, which include census data from the establishment of these protected areas or their rhinoceros populations until the most recent records, which are all fully referenced. A rather depressing, but also astonishing, chapter is on the hunting camps of the Maharaja of Cooch Behar, who recorded in his book, *Thirty-seven years of big game shooting in Cooch Behar* (1908), that 207 Indian rhinoceroses were hunted between 1871 and 1907, but Rookmaaker has recalculated this to 217. There are detailed lists of participants in shooting parties with dates given for each year accompanied by numerous disheartening photographs of dead rhinoceroses and other species. Finally, an epilogue presents new historical ranges for all three species based on the records compiled by Rookmaaker.

The rhinoceros of South Asia is not a traditional natural history of the three rhinoceros species that inhabited the region. Rather, it is a rich and complex account of the changing relationship between rhinoceroses and people seen through the perspectives of history, different cultures and the increasing rarity and extirpation of at least two species. The extent of the data in *The rhinoceros of South Asia* is almost overwhelming but will undoubtedly be valuable in modelling the decline and loss of these species throughout their ranges. I found this book to be an absolute delight.

DOI: 10.3366/anh.2025.0985 ANDREW C. KITCHENER https://orcid.org/0000-0003-2594-0827

ROOS, Anna Marie and KELLER, Vera (editors). *Collective wisdom: collecting in the early modern academy*, Techne 10. Brepols, Turnhout: 2022. 325 pp.; illustrated. Price €85 (hardback); €85 (e-book). ISBN 9782503588063 (hardback), ISBN 9782503588070 (e-book).

The development from the seemingly chaotic display of *naturalia* and *artificialia* in private cabinets of curiosities or *Kunstkammern* in the Renaissance to the creation of well-ordered public museums in the Enlightenment has been studied extensively. However, what has not been clarified until now are the roles of scientific societies and the many theoretical writings on museums they produced in the process of this transition. It is this hiatus that the editors, Vera Keller and Anna Marie Roos, have set out to fill with this volume.

The book is based on three workshops that were organized by the editors, as principal investigators of a networking grant awarded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council, in 2018 and 2019 in Germany and the UK. The workshops dealt with 'Early modern English and German collecting networks and practice: medicine and natural philosophy', 'Antiquarian science in the scholarly society', and 'Collecting and collections: lives and digital afterlives'. As can be gathered from the network's website (www.collectivewisdom.uoregon.edu), the lion's share of the contributions is based on papers that were delivered in the first two workshops.

The Leopoldina in Halle, the Society of Antiquaries of London and the Royal Society of London were institutional partners of the project and hosts of the workshops. This explains why many of the eleven essays deal with collecting in these learned societies, or with early modern naturalists and scholars that belonged to related or similar, but less well-known, academies in England and Central Europe.

The volume's focus on early modern museology is, indeed, a very interesting and welcome perspective from which to study early modern scientific societies and their collection practices. It works well in the essays that adhere closest to this approach, such as those by Kelly Whitmer on Johann Amos Comenius's (1592–1670) collection-based pedagogy; Georgiana Hedesan on Ole Worm's (1588–1654) famous museum in relation to his ideas about university reforms; Fabian Kraemer on the Leopoldina's journal, the *Miscellanea Curiosa*, as a cabinet of curiosities on paper; and Vera Keller on the authorship of

BOOK REVIEWS

THE RHINOCEROS OF SOUTH ASIA by L.C. (Kees) Rookmaaker, pp. liv+ 835, illustrations and maps. Published by Koninkligke Brill b.v., Leiden, The Netherlands. 2024. Size: 29 cm x 25 cm. Price not mentioned
doi: 10.17087/jbnhs/2025/v122/171291

Of the five species of rhinoceroses, two are found in Africa and three in Asia. Of these, two now survive only on the brink of extinction in Southeast Asia, having disappeared from South Asia altogether. This book is an exhaustive record of the three species that once lived among us. It is often said that 'the devil is in the detail'. Allow me to take the liberty of turning this around: in the case of this work, God is in the detail.

The length of the book testifies to its exhaustive nature and to the meticulous scholarship of its author, who has spent a lifetime studying rhinos across the world. His annotated bibliography of all known literature on the five species of rhinos, from the earliest times to 1982, is a monumental work. The book under review is a worthy successor to that effort. For the reviewer—who happens, in this case, to have co-authored a history of the Greater One-horned Rhinoceros—evaluating this work is no easy task.

The book is divided into three parts, each devoted to a single species. The largest – section 531 pages – is on the Greater One-horned Rhinoceros, which still survives in India and has even made something of a comeback.

Rhinoceros unicornis, endemic to South Asia, is deeply woven into the region's history and culture. The book traces its presence from geological, prehistoric, and protohistoric times to the present. It documents evidence in rock art, Mohenjo-daro, and the Mughal court, among others. It maps its historical range in detail. While Babur is known to have hunted rhinos near Lahore, present day readers may be surprised to learn that 4,000 years ago they were found as far west as Gujarat too! Mughal paintings suggest rhinos were once widespread across Awadh (present-day Uttar Pradesh) and beyond. Joachim Bauntze's chapter, remarkably, illustrates their profuse representation in Rajasthani art of the 17th and 18th centuries, even when the species had already disappeared from the region.

During the British colonial period, rhinos were relentlessly hunted with high-powered rifles for sport. In Nepal, the Ranas staged grand hunting expeditions for themselves, British royalty, and their guests. Rhino fights were also organized in Awadh and Baroda, among other places. All of these are meticulously recorded in the book, with illustrations. From near-extinction to its resurrection is a roller coaster story which is told here in exhaustive detail – so much so that there seems little room left for additions or corrections.

The other two species – the Javan Rhinoceros (*Rhinoceros sondaicus*) and the two-horned Sumatran Rhinoceros (*Dicerorhinus sumatrensis*) – also once inhabited South Asia, though the region was their least-preferred habitat. They are two of the three mammals that became extinct in South Asia during the 20th century, the third being the cheetah (*Acinonyx jubatus*), which is now enjoying a return. These two rhinos appear primarily in historical records from the British period, though local references may once have existed.

Despite the author's Herculean efforts, the story of the Javan rhino is confined to just 84 pages, while that of its Sumatran cousin occupies 62 pages. This reflects not a lack of scholarship, but the scarcity of records. The smaller one-horned rhino is described in detail, including its taxonomic history. From about 1770 onward, written accounts by British observers became available, along with illustrations and later photographs. These are meticulously documented, including an extraordinary photograph of Lady Mary Curzon, wife of Lord John Nathanial Curzon, Viceroy of India, astride a Javan rhino in Junagadh in November 1900 – apparently a pet of Nawab Rasulkhanji of Junagadh.

The Javan rhinoceros was already in decline in South Asia by the 19th century. Only 39 individuals were recorded in captivity during that period, and its last presence in the region is noted in 1909. Research suggests its final stronghold was in the Sundarbans of present-day India and Bangladesh, as well as the trijunction of North Bengal, Bangladesh, and Assam.

The Sumatran rhinoceros, the only two-horned species in Asia, is likewise fully described, with illustrations and taxonomic details. Its presence in South Asia was even sparser than that of its Javan cousin. Only nine individuals were recorded in captivity, and just 26 sightings, captures, or kills are documented between 1862 and the present. Astonishingly, the species may have survived in Manipur until the 1990s and in Nagaland until 1999.

Its South Asian range once extended from east of Dhaka to Chittagong (now Chattogram), Mizoram, Manipur, Nagaland, Arunachal Pradesh, and North Bengal.

Taken together, the three species appear to have shared the trijunction landscape of North Bengal, Bangladesh, and Assam. Sadly, we know almost nothing about their interactions with one another or how they divided their ecological niches.

The reviewer, a historian of animals for the past three decades, finds this book to be the most comprehensive and instructive account ever written on the three species of rhinos and the reviewer can say with confidence that it shall remain the definitive source. While the Greater One-horned Rhinoceros is thriving once again in India, the Javan and Sumatran rhinos cling precariously to fragmented habitats in Southeast Asia. The book's greatest value lies in its complete record of these two species, which no longer roam South Asia.

On the downside, the book is unwieldy – it weighs nearly three kilograms and is difficult to navigate. That apart it is very expensive making it beyond the reach of most readers. Nevertheless, its incomparable content makes it a 'must read' for general readers and specialists alike, and an indispensable addition to every library.

■ Divyabhanusinh

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BOOK REVIEWS

The Rhinoceros of South Asia by Kees Rookmaaker

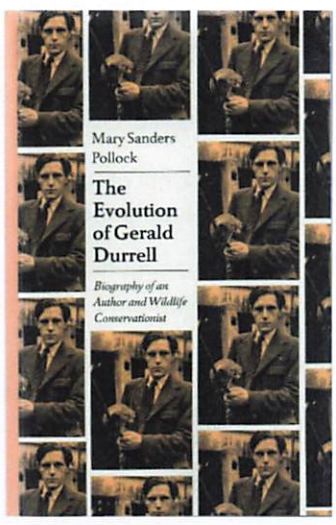
The three species of Asian rhinoceroses, until recent history, were all found in South Asia. Today only one species survives. In this remarkable book, Kees (who has long been a Bartlett Society member) has concerted his research to South Asia. This is far more than a zoological account of the lives and fate of these animals. Records are provided for all of the known rhinoceroses taken into captivity from the region, many of which, of course, were later shipped to royalty, the rich and famous, private estates and then zoos, menageries and circuses around the world. Details are provided on how these animals were caught, accustomed to captivity and transported.

I have only had the opportunity to read three (of the 68) chapters for this review but that is more than sufficient to be able to highly recommend it. With the hardcover edition price being 295 Euro, this may be beyond the resources of many, although the quality of the book, with its 885 pages, over 700 illustrations and 38 maps, and exhaustive research, makes this a tempting investment. Indeed, I can recommend obtaining this book if only for its choice illustrations. And, here is some good news, being an academic book means that it is also available to all on-line.

My brief foray into the book raised many thoughts. One was that many of the enclosures for captive Asian rhinoceroses kept in South Asia a century or so ago appeared to be superior to many for their counterparts in Europe and America today. Secondly, considering that the climate and availability of natural feed for the animals kept in South Asia should make successful captive welfare more productive, it was notable that far more Asian rhinos have been born in both Europe and America in the past three decades. Should more programmes be created for captive breeding of rhinos in South Asia, or are other risks, including poaching, too high?

John Adams

The Evolution of Gerald Durrell by Mary Sanders Pollock
Subtitle: **Biography of an Author and Wildlife Conservationist**



Mary Sanders Pollock takes an interesting approach to her subject by examining his life through his books and those of his close family. It's partly a literary review that sets Durrell's storytelling in a wider historical context as it charts how Durrell's views develop and mature over his lifetime.

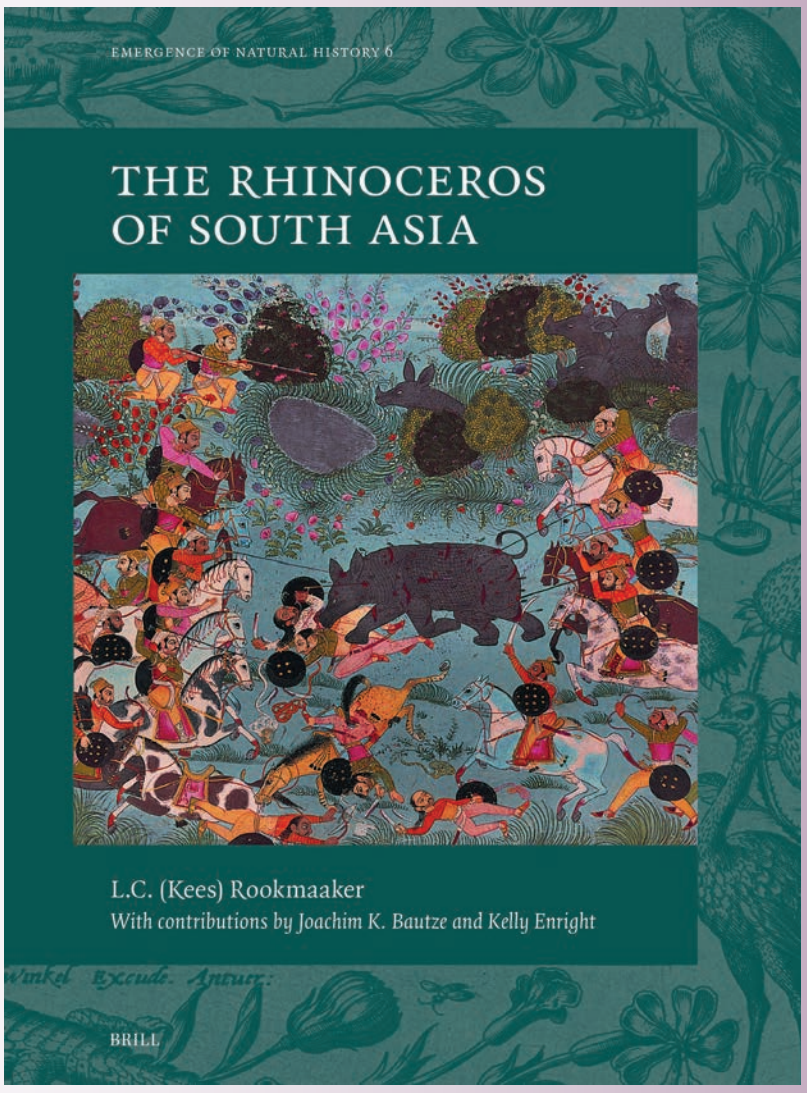
Durrell's books are grouped into subsets which form chapters covering his formative year in Corfu; his collecting trips to Africa and then South America; his fascination with island biogeography; and finally trips to Madagascar and the Mascarenes. His TV film career is neatly inter-twined into the latter chapters. Pollock charts his journey from wildlife "collector to protector". It's hard not to use the word "journey", as you feel you're travelling through time and places as the author leads you through "Durrell's story".

The author switches to writing in the first person when writing the final two chapters about his zoo in Jersey and an Afterword taking the opportunity to reflect upon Durrell's legacy. This book, published in 2024, is a scholarly piece of research with each chapter heavily referenced.

(Paperback, 196 pp)

David Lomas

L.C. (KEES) ROOKMAAKER, 2024
THE RHINOCEROS OF SOUTH ASIA. SERIES: EMERGENCE OF NATURAL HISTORY, VOLUME 6


EMERGENCE OF NATURAL HISTORY 6
THE RHINOCEROS OF SOUTH ASIA
L.C. (Kees) Rookmaaker
With contributions by Joachim K. Bautze and Kelly Enright
BRILL

Dit is een heel bijzonder boek. Kees Rookmaaker studeerde in Utrecht en was voor een groot deel van zijn werkzame leven verbonden aan de National University of Singapore. Hij is hoofdredacteur van de website *Rhino Resource Center*, waarop een onbeschrijfelijke hoeveelheid gegevens bijeengebracht is. Op 16 augustus j.l. vermeldt de website: 'The RRC has 28,752 references with 28,843 downloadable PDFs.' Er is ook een database aanwezig van neushoornfossielen.

De boeken die uitgeverij Koninklijke Brill uitgeeft hebben twee belangrijke eigenschappen: ze zijn van topkwaliteit en ze zijn heel duur. Dat laatste is natuurlijk lastig, als een boek zoals dit uitgebreide gegevens bevat over Zuid-Azië en de meeste wetenschappers en hun instituten daar niet in staat zijn dit boek aan te schaffen. Uitgeverij Brill was bereid het boek (als pdf) gratis ter beschikking te stellen, mits een groot deel van de productiekosten gedekt zou worden. Kees Rookmaaker startte een crowdfundingactie en die slaagde!

Het is ook een heel treurig boek. Het beschrijft de teloorgang van de drie Aziatische neushoornsoorten: de Javaanse neushoorn (kwetsbaar, maar één beschermd gebied, 50 dieren), de Sumatraanse neushoorn (snel in aantal afnemend, onvoldoende beschermd, 275 dieren) en de Indische neushoorn (aantal wordt langzaam groter, in zeven reservaten, 2600 dieren). Die teloorgang wordt niet alleen beschreven, maar ook afgebeeld met talloze foto's van trotse jagers en dode neushoorns, foto's van rijen neushoornkoppen, de toekomstige trofeeën aan de muur. Veel gekroonde hoofden gingen op neushoornjacht en veel vermogenden volgden in hun voetsporen. Stropers, die het om de hoorns te doen waren, namen natuurlijk geen foto's, maar hun aandeel was zeker zo groot.

Waarom is dit boek ook belangwekkend genoeg voor een recensie in dit blad, waarin toch vooral uitgestorven dieren aan de orde komen? Daar is een aantal redenen voor. Allereerst is er een hoofdstuk over fossiele neushoorns in het boek opgenomen (blz. 103-113) met heel veel verwijzingen naar de oorspronkelijke en latere bronnen. Ook de afbeeldingen van fossiele botten en gebitselementen kunnen voor vergelijking en determinatie nuttig zijn. Van de recente soorten zijn ook veel van zulke afbeeldingen opgenomen. Een goudmijntje voor paleontologen.

Een andere reden is dat paleontologen altijd proberen zich een beeld te vormen van de ecosystemen waarin de uitgestorven neushoorns voorkwamen. Er wordt dan gezocht naar analoge, nog niet uitgestorven soorten: hoe gedragen die zich, hoeveel variatie zit er in hun voedsel, hoe gaan ze om met predatoren, hoe snel planten ze zich voort?

Nog een reden is dat het boek het uitsterven van de drie soorten documenteert. Oorzaken hiervoor zijn afnemende populatiegrootte, verbrokkeling van het verspreidingsgebied door veranderend landgebruik, vermindering van genetische variatie en ook bejaging. Ze zijn nog wel niet echt uitgestorven, maar balanceren op het randje. Bejaging zal ook een belangrijke reden geweest zijn voor het uitsterven van de megafauna in het Laat-Pleistoceen en Holoceen bij ons. Daarbij maakte het verminderende effect van de dieren op het ecosysteem en het effect van klimaatverandering dat veel diersoorten uitstierven. Ook veel neushoornsoorten.

Onlangs verscheen een studie waarin aan de hand van diverse factoren een fijnmazig computermodel ontwikkeld werd, waarmee het uitsterven van de wolharige neushoorn op een kaart zichtbaar gemaakt kon worden in tijd en plaats (Fordham et al. 2024). De conclusie is dat de wolharige neushoorn weliswaar een brede ecologische niche had, maar in kleine kuddes leefde en een beperkte mogelijkheid had om zich te verspreiden. Door klimaatverandering raakten de dieren 'opgesloten' in beperkte en suboptimale gebieden, die steeds minder geschikt werden. De voortdurende jacht maakte dat de geïso-

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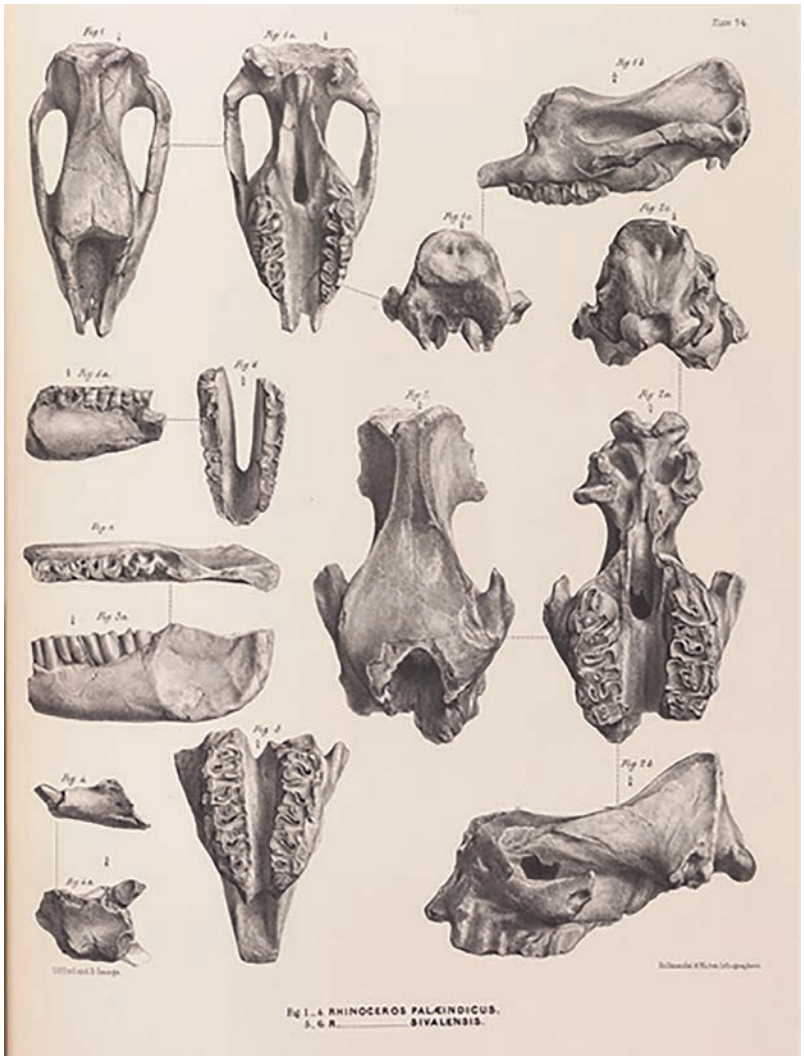


EXTRA INFORMATIE

Fordham, D.A., S.C. Brown, E. Canteri, J.J. Austin, M.V. Lomolino, S. Haythorne, E. Armstrong, H. Bocherens, A. Manica, A. Rey-Iglesia, C. Rahbek, D. Nogués-Bravo & E.D. Lorenzen (2024) 52,000 years of woolly rhinoceros population dynamics reveal extinction mechanisms. *PNAS 121-24*, https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.2316419121

Rhino Resource Center: http://www.rhinoresourcecenter.com

Database neushoornfossielen: http://www.rhinoresourcecenter.com/about/fossil-rhino-database.php

leerde populaties langzamerhand verdwenen, op het laatst in Oost-Siberië. De jachtdruk was niet eens zo hoog. De auteurs geven aan dat fragmentatie van het leefgebied en het effect daarvan op de veranderingen in de metapopulatie nadrukkelijk betrokken moeten worden bij de megafauna-uitstervingen.

Wat toen de wolharige neushoorns overkwam, overkomt nu ook de recente neushoorns, stellen de auteurs aan het eind van hun artikel. Door een combinatie van veranderend landgebruik en jacht leven de recente neushoorns verspreid in maar een klein deel (in reservaten) van hun oorspronkelijke verspreidingsgebied. Ze stellen dat er in het Laat-Pleistoceen 61 soorten megaherbivoren (>1000 kg) leefden. Nu leven er nog maar acht, en vijf daarvan zijn neushoorns, levend in geïsoleerde gebieden, vaak suboptimaal en gevoelig voor klimaatveranderingen. En er wordt gejaagd (gestroopt). Dat was net zo bij de wolharige neushoorn, schrijven ze. We weten hoe het afliep.

Maar nu weer terug naar het boek. De meeste aandacht gaat uit naar de Indische neushoorn (Rhinoceros unicornis), meer dan 500 bladzijden. Alles komt aan de orde: taxonomie en nomenclatuur, dieren in gevangenschap, rotsschilderingen, archeologie, historische vermeldingen en verspreidingsgebied, beroemdheden die kwamen jagen en nog veel meer. Alles ruim van afbeeldingen voorzien.

De Javaanse neushoorn (Rhinoceros sondaicus) krijgt bijna 90 bladzijden en bovengenoemde onderwerpen worden hier ook systematisch behandeld. De Sumatraanse neushoorn (Dicerorhinus sumatrensis) wordt tenslotte, opnieuw met dezelfde onderwerpen, in bijna 70 bladzijden besproken. Bij beide soorten zijn veel afbeeldingen geplaatst.

Tenslotte, in de ‘epiloog’ het treurige einde, een uitgebreide documentatie van het verdwijnen van beide laatste soorten uit Zuid- en Zuidoost-Azië. Hoe groot was het historische verspreidingsgebied en wanneer verdwenen ze? De Javaanse neushoorn verdween buiten Java aan het begin van de 20e eeuw en leeft alleen nog maar in een klein reservaat op Java. De Sumatraanse neushoorn hield het buiten Sumatra langer uit, tot eind 20e eeuw, en leeft nu alleen nog maar op Sumatra.

Toch nog een lichtpuntje: de Indische neushoorn leeft in India onder strikt toezicht in een aantal reservaten en het aantal dieren neemt langzaam toe.

Samenvattend, een prachtig boek voor eenieder die zich in neushoorns wil verdiepen, of ze nu fossiel of nog onder ons zijn.

Hardcover: 890 pagina’s
Uitgever: Koninklijke Brill
Taal: Nederlands
ISBN: 9789004544888

Een vossenhol. FOTO KOOS DIJKSTERHUIS

Natuurdagboek
3 maart 2025

Vossenhol in een hondenbos

In Amersfoort bezocht ik de bossen waar ik als kind en puber rondstruinde. Ik bouwde hutten en raapte tamme kastanjes in Klein Zwitserland, een klein honden-uitlaatbos met vooral loofbomen.

Het werd tijdens de crisis in de jaren dertig aangelegd door werklozen, voor rijke villabewoners die er gingen wandelen. Het bosje ligt op de helling van de veertig meter hoge Amersfoortse Berg. Vanwege het bergachtige karakter werd het naar Zwitserland genoemd, zoals bijna alle hobbelige terreinen.

Veertig jaar na de aanleg liet ik er met mijn buurjongen diens hond uit, en hoorde en zag ik er bosuilen. Ik herkende het padenpatroon dat mijn vader minutieus in kaart bracht, tot de breedte van de paden aan toe. Die mat hij door stappen van een meter te zetten.

Mijn vader was planoloog. De beide houten bruggetjes zijn er nog, evenals de oude waterputten en de twee verharde fietspaden. De laatste waren ooit van cement en zijn nu van klinkers. De bomen, vooral eiken en beuken, en wat hulst, zijn groter en dikker geworden en hier en daar ligt een omgezaagde stam.

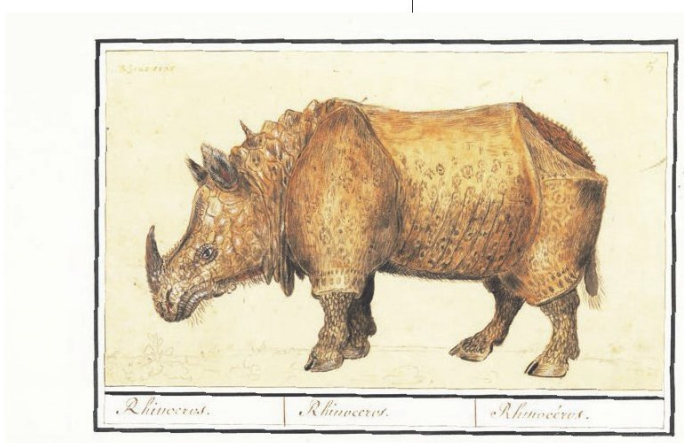
Op een bordje wordt de bezoekers uitgelegd dat dood hout goede kanten heeft. Vroeger werd elke oude boom al weggesleept voor hij kon omvallen. Het ouder worden van bomen en het laten liggen van dood hout is een opsteker voor onze bossen. Daar staat tegenover dat ik afgelopen herfst iemand bospaden zag ontbladeren met een bladblazer! Ik vroeg of-ie de bomen met een doekje zou afnemen, waarop hij bloedserieus ontkennend antwoordde.

Vroeger zag ik in Klein Zwitserland heel soms een eekhoorn, soms een egel en af en toe een konijn. Reeën staken de snelweg die sinds de jaren zestig het bosje van de Utrechtse Heuvelrug afsneed niet over, en dat doen ze nog steeds niet. Maar tot mijn verrassing kwam ik een hol tegen, waarvan ik bijna zeker weet dat het een vossenhol is.

Vossen waren zeldzaam in mijn kindertijd, en werden gehaat door mensen die nu wolven haten. Het is onlogisch om zowel vossen als wolven te haten, want wolven verjagen vossen. Enfin, Klein Zwitserland is nog steeds een honden-uitlaatbos; knappe vos die het daar redt!

Koos Dijksterhuis

Vier keer per week schrijft bioloog **Koos Dijksterhuis** over iets wat groeit of bloeit



Een tekening van een Indische neushoorn, ook wel pantserneushoorn genoemd.
BEELD RIJKSMUSEUM

Beelden uit het boek van Rookmaaker. Met rechts een neushoorn die wordt opgejaagd door olifanten.
FOTO PABLO LINES

De hoofden van drie neushoorns geschoten in Chitwan in januari 1939. De jagers waren Maharaja Juddha Shumsher, zijn zoon Bahadur Shumsher (links) en zijn kleinzoon Nara Shumsher (rechts).

Fascinatie | Bioloog en historicus Kees Rookmaaker (72) had ook betoverd kunnen raken door de lama. Het werd de neushoorn. Jelle Reumer las zijn magnum opus en voelt zich als een kind in een snoepwinkel.

900 pagina's vol weetjes over de **neushoorn**

tekst **Jelle Reumer**

Op 14 september 2024 meldde deze krant in een klein bericht dat er een neushoorntje was geboren, niet in de dierentuin van Emmen of Amsterdam, maar in een natuurreservaat: 'In Indonesië is een jonge Javaanse neushoorn gespot. Het kalf is naar schatting drie tot vijf maanden oud', zo viel te lezen.

Kennelijk is de geboorte van een jonge neushoorn zulk groot nieuws dat het aan de andere kant van de aardbol de krant haalt. Het ging dan ook om een van de meeste zeldzame zoogdiersoorten op aarde: de Javaanse neushoorn (*Rhinoceros sondaicus*), waarvan nog maar enkele tientallen exemplaren overleven in het Ujong Kulon-reservaat op het meest westelijke puntje van Java.

De soort staat op punt van definitief uitsterven, maar ooit leefden Javaanse neushoorns in een groot deel van Zuidoost-Azië, niet alleen op Java waaraan hij zijn volksnaam ontleent, maar ook op Sumatra, in Maleisië, Thailand, Myanmar, India, Bangladesh, Cambodja, Laos en Vietnam.

Samen met de nauw verwante Indische neushoorn (*Rhinoceros unicornis*) kenmerkt de Javaanse neushoorn zich door het bezit van slechts één hoorn (vandaar ook *unicornis*).

De niet-verwante, ook zeer zeldzame en eveneens op uitsterven staande Sumatraanse neushoorn heeft twee hoorns op de snuit. *Dicerorhinus sumatrensis* heet deze soort; de geslachtsnaam verwijst naar die twee (*di*) hoorntjes (van het Griekse *keras*) op de neus (*rhino*).

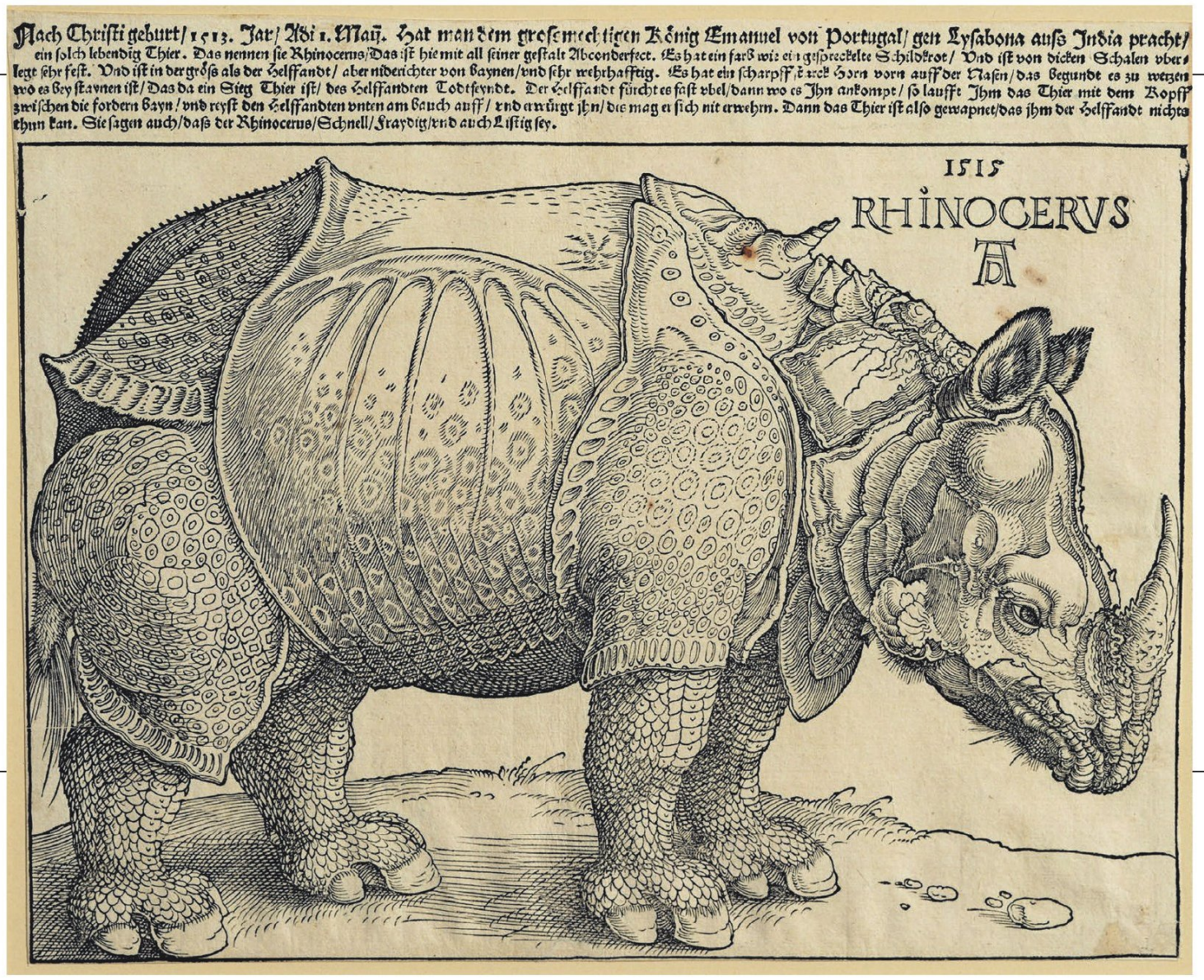
Tot nader order telt Azië nog drie soorten neushoorns: de Indische, de Javaanse en de Sumatraanse. Alles wat u over deze soorten wilt weten en nog heel veel meer, is te vinden in het onlangs verschenen, bijna 900 pagina's tellende en van 707 illustraties voorziene boek *The Rhinoceros of South Asia* van de Nederlandse bioloog en historicus Kees Rookmaaker (72).

In ruim vijftig jaar tijd verzamelde Rookmaaker alle in de loop van meerdere eeuwen gepubliceerde informatie over neushoorns, van wetenschappelijke artikelen tot krantenknipsels, van annonces over rondreizende kermisdieren tot gravures en schilderijen.

Dat levert behalve veel kennis over de verspreiding, de naamgeving en de leefwijze van de dieren ook een onafzienbare hoeveelheid interessante anekdotes op.

Zo was op 19 november 1875 de toenmalige prins van Wales, Albert Edward (de latere Britse koning Edward VII) tijdens een bezoek een India getuige van een gevecht tussen twee Indische neushoorns. De dieren waren met rode verf besmeurd om ze er griezeliger te laten uitzien maar hadden totaal geen zin in een gevecht. Een van de angstige dieren bleef onder luid gelach van het publiek nerveus rondjes lopen in een tot mislukken gedoemde poging om nog enige waardigheid te bewaren.

Het treffen tussen de twee logge planteneters werd in niet minder dan vier illustraties vastgelegd en verscheen eind van hetzelfde jaar in diverse kranten en tijdschriften, waaronder de *Illustrated London News* en *The Graphic*. De prent be-


Nach Christi geburt/ 1513. Jar/ Am 1. Maij. Hat man dem grosmechtigen König Emanuel von Portugal/ gen Lysabona aus India pracht/ ein solch lebendig Thier. Das nennen sie Rhinocerus/ Das ist hie mit all seiner gestalt Abconderfect. Es hat ein farb wie ein gesprenckelte Schildkrot/ Vnd ist von dicken Schalen vberlegt sehr fest. Vnd ist in der grösse als der Helffandt/ aber nidrichter von Baynen/ vnd sehr wehrhafftig. Es hat ein scharpff/ breit Horn vorn auff der Nasen/ das begundt es zu wetzen wo es bey stainen ist/ Das da ein Sieg Thier ist/ des Helffandten Todtfeyndt. Der Helffandt fürcht es fast vbel/ dann wo es Jhn ankompt/ so lauffe Jhm das Thier mit dem Kopff zwischen die fordern Bayn/ vnd reyst den Helffandten vnten am Bauch auff/ vnd würgt jhn/ dis mag er sich nit erwehrn. Dann das Thier ist also gewapnet/ das jhm der Helffandt nichts thun kan. Sie sagen auch/ das der Rhinocerus/ Schnell/ Fraydig/ vnd auch Listig sey.
1515
RHINOCERVS
A

Een neushoorn gemaakt van hout door Albrecht Dürer in 1515. De afbeelding werd afgedrukt door Hieronymus Hölzel. BEELD NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART

reikte zelfs de media in het buitenland, zoals het Franse *l'Univers Illustré*.

Die meedogenloze omgang met de neushoorns ging ook in de twintigste eeuw vrolijk door. Rookmaaker beeldt ettelijke gruwelijke foto's af van jachtpartijen.

Zo zien we de onderkoning van India, Victor Alexander John Hoppe, tweede markies van Linlithgow, zittend op een rhinoceros die in december 1938 was doodgeschoten. Een maand later schoten de maharadja Juddha Shumsher, zijn zoon Baradur en kleinzoon Nara drie neushoorns; de heren staan op een foto in *The Sphere* van 22 juli 1939 trots te pronken achter drie kolossale afgesneden neushoornkoppen die met geloken ogen op de grond liggen.

Oerneushoorn

Het mag, zulke heroïsche slachtpartijen overziend, een wonder heten dat de Indische neushoorn niet ook op punt van uitsterven staat.

In de iconografie is de Indische neushoorn de oerneushoorn, met zijn prominente hoorn en de forse huidplooien die doen lijken alsof het dier is voorzien van een stevig en ondoordringbaar, maar helaas niet kogelvrij, pantser.

Hij dankt deze rol aan de allereerste neushoorn die in Europa te zien was. Al in 1515 hadden Portugese zeevaarders een exemplaar meegenomen vanuit hun handelsnederzettingen in het huidige India en naar Lissabon gebracht. Daar werd het dier tentoongesteld en door duizenden bekeken. Op grond van een aldaar gemaakte tekening van een amateurkunstenaar maakte Albrecht Dürer, zonder de neushoorn ooit gezien te hebben, zijn beroemde gravure van het dier, met een extra klein hoorntje boven de nek en een bepantsering als van een aanvalsmonster uit een sciencefictionfilm.

Het duurde nog twee eeuwen voor realistischer beelden opdoken. Een belangrijke bijdrage daaraan werd geleverd door Clara, een Indische neushoorn die tussen 1741 en 1758 door Europa toerde. Het vermoedelijk op 19 juni 1738 geboren dier leefde aanvankelijk als huisdier bij de Nederlander Jan Albert Sichterman, die directeur was van de VOC-factorij in Houghly, benoorden het huidige Calcutta.

Toen Clara als huisdier te groot werd, nam een Nederlandse kapitein haar per schip mee naar Holland. Daar werd ze tentoongesteld, waarna een succesvolle Grand Tour door half Europa volgde. Clara overleed op 14 april 1758 in Londen. Het aantal tekeningen, schilderijen en gravures dat van haar werd gemaakt is enorm.

In Rookmaakers magnum opus staan deze en nog vele honderden andere neushoornweetjes. Al die kennis maakt het boek zo bijzonder: het gaat over ogenschijnlijk onbeduidende gebeurtenissen, maar vertelt wel over zwaar bedreigde diersoorten en daarmee over een groot biodiversiteitsprobleem dat verre van onbeduidend is.

Kees Rookmaaker heeft zijn werkzame leven gewijd aan de neushoorn. Zijn eerste publicatie, *Captive rhinoceroses in Europe from 1500 until 1810,* verscheen in 1973, meer dan een halve eeuw geleden. Hij heeft niet minder dan 235 wetenschappelijke publicaties op zijn naam, een bovengemiddeld groot aantal. Het bewijst de gedrevenheid van de zeventiger, die in Spanje woont na jarenlang in Singapore te hebben gewerkt.

42.868 notities

Al op 15-jarige leeftijd raakte Rookmaaker in de ban van de neushoorn, toen hij bij wijze van uitzondering toestemming kreeg om in de beroemde Artis-bibliotheek rond te neuzen. Hij is nu 72 en nog altijd door de dikhuiden gefascineerd.

In 2003 begon hij op initiatief van de in Indonesië wonende Nederlandse ecoloog Nico van Strien (1946-2008) met het Rhino Resource Center. Deze stichting beheert een online databank (rhinoresourcecenter.com) waar alle literatuur en iconografie over neushoorns is verzameld. Op moment van schrijven staan er 42.868 notities op de website, met referentie aan 29.004 publicaties en zijn 29.151 pdf's te downloaden.

En er zijn 6800 afbeeldingen beschikbaar, van gravures tot foto's in het wild. Van geen enkele andere diergroep is de informatie zo goed toegankelijk gemaakt. Die vormde ook de basis voor het boek, waar een bibliografie van ruim drieduizend items in een piepklein lettertype 73 pagina's in beslag neemt.

Nadat Rookmaakers echtgenote acht jaar geleden overleed, wilde hij een groot project aanpakken en is hij aan de samenstelling van het boek begonnen, met de literatuur op de website als bron.

Op de vraag waarom hij juist door neushoorns zo wordt gedreven blijft Rookmaaker het antwoord schuldig. "Het had bij wijze van spreken ook de lama kunnen zijn. Ook olifanten zijn leuk, maar de literatuur daarover is te veel en te onoverzichtelijk."

> Rookmaaker heeft zijn werkzame leven gewijd aan de neushoorn

> Er zijn 6800 afbeeldingen beschikbaar, van gravures tot foto's in het wild

Zijn familieachtergrond in Indonesië maakte de keuze voor een diersoort die daar leeft eenvoudiger. "Ik interesseerde me niet voor vogels en wilde liefst geen Nederlandse zoogdieren doen. En neushoorns waren toen ook al bedreigd."

Het boek gaat ook over de droevige situatie dat twee van de drie Aziatische neushoorns op rand van uitsterven staan. Rookmaaker maakt zich daar veel zorgen over: het stropen van de dieren om de hoorn is erg, maar de destructie van hun leefgebied, waarbij het oerwoud tot akkers wordt omgevormd, is veel erger, zo zei hij.

Het enige voordeel van de bedreigde status is dat er soms wel geld voor bescherming is te vinden. En omdat neushoorns zo groot zijn, is daar meteen een heel reservaat voor nodig en daar profiteren dan ook andere soorten van, van zoogdieren tot insecten.

Een heel andere zorg die Rookmaaker bezighoudt is de toekomst van zijn bibliotheek. Die zou hij graag ergens goed ondergebracht zien, liefst in de Artisbibliotheek, waar ooit zijn neushoornbelangstelling is ontstaan.

De hardbackversie van *The Rhinoceros of South Asia* is met een prijs van € 321,55 een beetje prijzig voor de gewone sterveling, maar de pdf ervan is gratis te downloaden op brill.com, de site van de uitgever.

L.C. Rookmaaker.
The Rhinoceros of South Asia
Brill;
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